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ARCHAEOLOGY

THE ARTS THROUGHOUT THE AGES



IN THE VALE OF
AZTLAN

ORIGINAL HOME
OF THE AZTECS

Published by
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF WASHINGTON
affiliated with the
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

EDUCATIONAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMISSION TO MEXICO

BEING ASSEMBLED BY THE
SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONGRESS

IN COLLABORATION WITH THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON

Affiliated with the Archaeological Institute of America

THE Commission will be officially received in Mexico and will have the active cooperation of the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Education of the Republic of Mexico. The Commission will also have the cooperation of the officials of the United States in Mexico and of such American agencies as the Mexican Division of International Rotary, the American Educational Foundation, and the American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico City.

The joint Directors of the Commission will be Dr. Mitchell Carroll, Editor of ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, and Director of the Archaeological Society of Washington, and Dr. Clarence J. Owens, President of the Southern Commercial Congress, and of the International Association of Arts and Letters.

The itinerary will cover the month of September from Washington to Washington. The journey will be made by rail to Mexico City, with a stop-over at San Antonio for a visit to the Alamo. In Mexico City educational conferences will be held and interesting archaeological side-trips, under the guidance of experts, will be made in the environs of Mexico City and throughout the Valley of Mexico, including Chapultepec, Pedregal, Guadalupe, San Juan Teotihuacan, and the Pyramid of the Sun.

The Commission will then proceed to Vera Cruz and go by water to Progreso and will explore the wonders of the ancient cities of Yucatan, the "Egypt of America," especially the ruined temples and palaces of Uxmal and Chichen-Itza. Returning, the Commission will make the trip by water across the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico and will arrive at a Gulf port, completing the journey by rail to Washington and other points.

The Southern Commercial Congress has conducted eight foreign missions throughout Europe, Latin-America, and the Orient. The reports of the Commissions have been published in the main by the Congress of the United States, and have rendered a distinctive and conspicuous service during the past decade. A similar report will be compiled of the findings of this Commission to Mexico.

The Commission will endeavor to combine recreation, good fellowship and enjoyment with serious pursuits, and by first-hand acquaintance with the higher life of Mexico, to accomplish material results and cement the ties of amity, comity and fraternity between the sister nations.

The Commission will be the largest unit of similar character ever assembled for combined study and travel in a Latin-American country. The number will be limited to one hundred.

Men and women interested in education, economics and archaeology are eligible to membership on the Commission and are invited to become participants in this delightful pilgrimage to Mexico, under such favorable auspices and with so many unusual privileges.

For information relative to the details of the itinerary, the cost and the purposes of the Commission, address The Southern Commercial Congress, 1415 K Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

THE ARTS THROUGHOUT THE AGES

An Illustrated Monthly Magazine

PUBLISHED BY

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF WASHINGTON

AFFILIATED WITH

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF AMERICA

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY PRESS, Inc.

VOLUME XVI

JULY-DECEMBER 1923



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ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

NEW YEAR NUMBER

January, 1924

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EDITED IN COLLABORATION WITH EDGAR L. HEWETT

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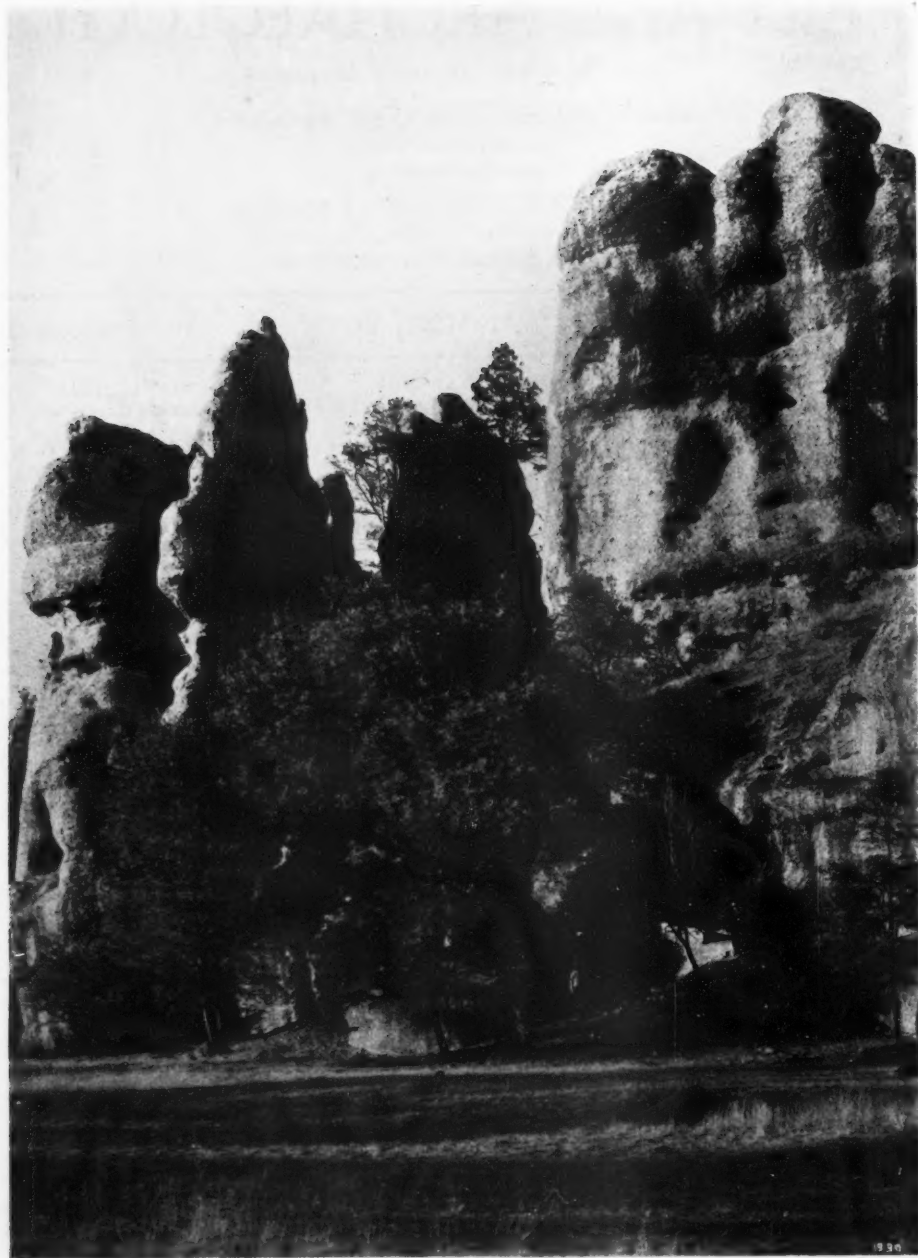
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In Cave Valley of Legendary Aztlan. Original Home of the Aztecs (see pp. 37 ff.).

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ART *and* ARCHAEOLOGY

The Arts Throughout the Ages

VOLUME XVI

JULY-AUGUST, 1923

NUMBERS 1-2

MY NEIGHBORS, THE PUEBLO INDIANS

By EDGAR L. HEWETT

"The things you learn from the yellow and brown
Will help you a lot with the white."

THE editor of ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY requests an unprejudiced article on the Pueblo Indians. The reasons for coming to an archaeologist for this are obvious. Accustomed to summon the past to speak to the future, the archaeologist is supposed to be immune to the epidemics of emotionalism which rage among those who live mainly in the tumult of the present. There are numerous advantages in the archaeological frame of mind, at least to the possessor, chief among which is a disposition to compare any vexatious conditions that afflict the human race just now with something infinitely worse in the past, the result of which is an attitude of incurable optimism.

THE PUEBLO WORLD

The Pueblo world is a singularly inviting one. There is in it the simplicity and serenity and charm of a time to us

long dead—with them, too sacred to let go. In it, too, there is a suggestion of a world of spirituality and grace to which we have not yet attained—a vast world in time and space, physically shrunken now to the few attenuated villages in the Rio Grande Valley and on the desert to the west.

What is the present state, and what the probable fate of these little ethnological islands always on the point of being submerged by the seas of modern progress with which they are surrounded? Upon these questions I have some convictions which I advance with hesitation, notwithstanding the fact that they have the advantage over some other people's convictions on the same subject of having been derived through two excellent channels; one as a neighbor who has shared their hopes and enjoyed their confidence for more than a quarter of a century, and the other as one whose



Terraced pueblo at Taos, New Mexico.

business it is to study man and his destiny, to whom the Pueblos have been a source of boundless interest.

Reviewing what has been said and done about the Pueblos, from the narrative of Castaneda to the far-famed Bursum Bill of the Sixty-Seventh Congress, the literature of which makes a sizable library of information and misinformation, one finds an impressive array of material in the form of reports, official and unofficial; recommendations advanced with assurance which little or no knowledge gives; resolutions that implore and demand and entreat; scientific tomes in which grains of truth laboriously discovered are laboriously entombed; magazine and newspaper articles which suggest neither labor nor truth; all intended to shape public opinion and official action with reference to the Pueblos.

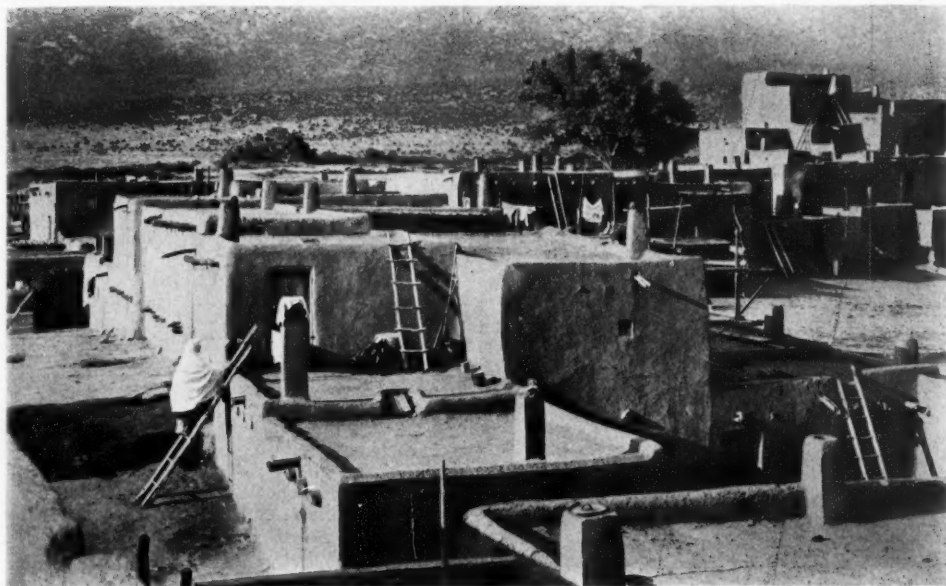
I hasten to disavow all claim to much knowledge of the Pueblo Indian and to

suggest that there are others writing about him who know even less. His mind is as inscrutable as that of the Oriental. No psychologist lives who can obtain his intelligence quotient. The method which was used in appraising the mentality of the American soldier can not be applied to the mind of the Indian. The only way to get it is to follow out the expressions of his spirit in works that have lived through the ages and by observing the reaction of his mind at the present time to the phenomena of nature about him.

THE PUEBLOS NINE-TENTHS ARCHAEOLOGY

The call for an article on the Pueblos for a magazine of archaeology and art shows rare editorial discernment. The Pueblos are nine-tenths archaeology now, and the only western continent art we have that is "100 per cent American" is the art of the Indians, mainly of the

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Community Houses, Taos, New Mexico.

Pueblos. That we can, in the American southwest, "catch our archeology alive," in Lummis's classic phrase, is due to one of the most remarkable and complete adaptations to a definite environment that has occurred in the history of the human race. A Pueblo Indian at an afternoon tea in New York is out of place. In his own southwest he is a harmonious element in a landscape that is incomparable in its nobility of color and mass and feeling of the Unchangeable. He never dominates it, as does the European his environment, but belongs there as do the mesas, skies, sunshine, spaces, and the other living creatures. He takes his part in it with the clouds, winds, rocks, plants, birds and beasts, with drum-beat and chant and symbolic gesture, keeping time with the seasons, moving in orderly procession with nature, holding to the unity of life in all things, seeking no superior place

for himself but merely a state of harmony with all created things—the most rhythmic life, so far as I know, that is lived among the races of men. The Pueblo seems a perfect factor in the unchangeableness of his elemental environment.

But even the man of science drops easily into inexactness in the use of words. *Unchangeableness* is not of this planet. Here and there the mighty forces appear to have halted, but they have only slowed down. The southwest has resisted change stubbornly during the span that we can vision. Nevertheless changes are manifest. Forests have receded; desert sands have crept over once fertile valleys; plants have toughened in fibre, and animals have modified their habits and appearance in the effort to meet the inexorable law, "Adapt or die." I have personally noted the extinction of groups of pine trees that have long struggled for life



Houses in Santa Clara, New Mexico.

against the encroaching desert, and I have witnessed the dwindling of a tribe of people to the last lonely survivor.

THE TOWN-DWELLING INDIANS

The Pueblos are the town-dwelling Indians of the southwest. They are now reduced to seventeen villages in the Rio Grande drainage of New Mexico, Zuñi in the western part of that state, and eight Hopi villages in Arizona. In 1540 when first described by Castaneda of Coronado's expedition, there were eighty inhabited towns, sixty-six in the Rio Grande basin, seven at Zuñi, and seven at Hopi. So in a little less than four centuries there has been a shrinkage of over two-thirds, based on the number of inhabited towns. Nearly 70 per cent of the villages of 1540 are archaeology now. But it isn't the encroachment of the white man alone that has been responsible for the decline of the Pueblo

communities, as is popularly supposed. Their own rebellion of 1680 ruined a good many of them. Comanche, Navajo, Apache, and other raiding tribes wore down some of the towns to the vanishing point. Thus the decline of the Pueblos during the historic four centuries can be accounted for.

The great shrinkage came before 1540. To account for it makes good guessing for the archaeologist. The extensive San Juan Valley of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona had no Pueblo population in 1540, but in ages prior to that the whole valley and all its tributaries teemed with people. The Mesa Verde (see ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, Nos. 1-2, Vol. 10) and the Chaco Canon (see ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, Nos. 1-2, Vol. 11), were the greatest centers of community life. The people of the former were cliff dwellers, this being a term of location only, and those of the latter



Harvest time at Santa Clara, New Mexico.

lived in enormous community houses in the valley and on the mesa tops, some of them many times over as capacious as any of the community houses of today. All were true Pueblos—sedentary, town-dwelling Indians. There are in this valley and its tributaries the ruins of hundreds of towns.

In the upper Rio Grande basin, where most of the surviving villages are, were such foci of population as the Pajarito Plateau west of the present inhabited valley, a region of countless cliff dwellings of a different type from those of Mesa Verde, and community houses of vast size. The ruined towns run into hundreds, great and small. This large population disappeared long before the Spaniards came.

There are several large town ruins in the Little Colorado Valley in Arizona, none of which survived down to 1540. The Gila Valley is covered with ruins

of ancient town sites, and the upper tributaries are full of cliff houses. This numerous population was all gone before the conquest. In the inland basin of northern Chihuahua, Mexico, were extensive settlements of Pueblos. Casas Grandes is one of the largest of the pre-Spanish towns in the whole southwest. Scattered over the valley are hundreds of small house ruins, and in the canyons of the Sierra Madre to the west are cliff villages in great numbers. These ancient people of northern Mexico were Pueblos, but not an inhabitant lived to see a white man or to hear of the dreaded Bursum Bill.

So four of the five great areas of Pueblo culture, embracing hundreds of large towns and thousands of small ones were depopulated centuries before the Spaniards came. The period of great decline was ages ago. The same thing happened to many other Indian peoples.



Terraced house at Zúñi, New Mexico.

The great temple cities of the Maya of Central America were "one with Nineveh and Tyre" before the destructive European got a chance at them. The Toltecs were a tradition; the mound builders an ancient mystery. When I stated in the beginning of this article that the Pueblos were nine-tenths archaeology already, I was too conservative and I need not have limited it to this one group. The white man has many crimes to his credit, but he did not start the Pueblos nor any of the above mentioned peoples on their decline, though no one will deny that he vigorously followed up whatever was at work in the way of destructive forces.

The Pueblos, then, are the surviving remnants of a people that were distributed over a region as extensive as France or the former German Empire in Europe—almost as great as all the Atlantic seaboard states put together. It was not

an area that could be continuously inhabited, however. Expanses of desert intervened between the fertile valleys, and these stretches were only sparsely settled, though it is astonishing to find over these desert wastes numerous remains of human habitations where now the prairie dogs are moving out for want of sustenance. The large valleys were comfortably populated. There was no occasion for overcrowding. There were no cities, either in point of population or political organization. Neither was there anything comparable to our scattered individual house population. Everywhere it was town or village life. In other words, the community was the unit in the political structure—in so far as there was any. The community was a closely knit, highly organized body, a remarkable structure made up of clans, fraternities, priesthoods, with civil and religious authority sharply



A Street in Jemez, New Mexico.

defined and provided for by election, never by inheritance.

THE PUEBLOS, MINIATURE REPUBLICS

But with the community, organization ceased. There was no state or nation in the sense of an organization of the whole body of inhabitants in independent governments. Each community was a miniature republic, but there was no permanent association of communities. Every one was a separate entity. A number of towns might in time of emergency act together under a common chief, but this never constituted a lasting alliance.

It would seem that the Rio Grande Pueblos, separated one from another by only a few miles and all having the same interests would at least have a common council, but such is not the case. Occasionally a number of the towns have joined in sending delegations to

Washington. Four times in the last fifteen years, three times at Santo Domingo and once at Santa Clara, a grand council of the Pueblo towns has met to consider their perennial land troubles, but no "league of nations" resulted or ever will of their volition. The community is self-contained and minds its own business to an extent that white communities can't account for, having had so little experience in that line.

The governing body in ancient times was the council, with chief and head men. At present it is the governor and principales. The governor is elected for a limited term, usually a year. The council of principales or head men is made up of those who have held the office of governor. It is therefore a government of elder statesmen. The war captain, his once glorious occupation now reduced to matters of boundaries, fences, stock trespass and police



The pueblo of San Juan, New Mexico.

duty at religious functions, is an executive officer of the council; elective, and of equal rank with the governor. The latter has his *teniente* (lieutenant), elective, and *alguacil* (constable), appointive. There are no emoluments, and no competition to "serve the people." The office actually seeks the man, not by way of the primary or the convention, but by direct choice of heads of families in council—male suffrage only. This present arrangement was made for the Pueblos by a white administration, but it was a modification of the ancient form, preserving the fundamentals of the aboriginal system. It is essentially republican, government by representatives of the people and has been so from time immemorial.

We can truthfully say that these surviving Pueblo communities constitute the oldest republics known. It must be remembered, however, that

they were only vest pocket editions. No two villages or group of villages ever came under a common authority or formed a state. There is not the faintest tradition of a "ruler" over the whole body of Pueblos, or an organization of the people of this vast territory under a common government. There is no tradition of "rulers" of any kind. The people managed their affairs through chosen representatives. It is sometimes said that the actual rulers of the Pueblos were and are the *caciques*, the two religious heads of the community. This is not correct. True, they are elected for life, never hereditary, and are much revered, but they are subject to the council and are amenable to its discipline. Cases are on record of a *cacique* having been publicly whipped by order of the council. The people rule.

What I have described above, in its archaic form, was the typical govern-



North side of Plaza, San Ildefonso, New Mexico.

ment throughout the Americas. There were numerous variants, but the fundamentals remained constant. There was no kingship and could not be in such a social structure, not even among the still more advanced civilizations of Mexico and Central America. Nomenclature is very persistent and hard to break away from. Europeans could see in a powerful chief only a king. If he happened to be the chief over a number of chiefs of towns or tribes temporarily associated for defense, as Montezuma in Mexico, he must be an "emperor" and his domain an "empire." Hence the "Empire of the Montezumas"—the old, middle, and new "empires" of the Maya. These Indian emperors, kings, princesses, empires, etc., are the creation of Spanish chroniclers and romantic historians. The Indians have never had to junk any royal crowns or thrones or dynasties as Europe has been doing

at such bloody cost. They got started in a different direction from ours. The perfectly ordered community was the aim and end and agency of government, and there organization stopped. All the people participated in all the community activities, government, building, worshipping. The community works, keeping the ditches, clearing the trails, cleaning the town, caring for the sanctuaries, were for all. Individualism was restrained. Though there were many valiant warriors there were no Napoleons. There was little specialization. No individual singer performed for the entertainment of the crowd. There was no class of trained artists. All were artists though no master ever signed a painting or statue. No architect or politician got his name on the cornerstone of a public building. No tombstone or monument commemorated the grave of a hero or of any one else. The



A House in Isleta, New Mexico.

"ancients" needed no memorial to mark where the cast-off body was laid. When you read in the public press that ancient American tombs will soon be excavated that may rival that of the much exploited Tutankhamen, remember that the early inhabitants of this continent didn't believe much in tombs and therefore didn't build any of much consequence. When a ruin bears the classical name of the "Temple of the High Priest's Grave," put that with the "Old Empire" myth, the "Treasure of Montezuma," the "Seven Cities of Cibola," and the fabled "Gran Quivira." They had no "high" priests, and plain every-day priests went into the common burial place, the refuse heap, the crevice in the rock, the niche in the cave wall, the trench under the floor, or onto the funeral pyre. The body, when of no further use, was regarded about as a corn husk. The pueblo refuse heap is

an epitome of a people's history. Into it went everything pertaining to life and culture, including the body itself when it ceased to serve the spirit.

A very simple episode in life was this translation to the spirit world of the "ancients," so simple and inconsequential that some tribes had no name for it. Life went on with its ceremonial activities and various mundane concerns pretty much as before save that "Those Above," the mighty powers, were easier of access to the ancients and so the latter became very intimate intermediary beings. At every fiesta they are present, invisible in themselves, impersonated on many occasions, to the end that the people shall never forget the gifts of the past. It was real veneration that was accorded to the ancestors; not worship and no memorials in stone or bronze. True the Indians place offerings of works of art or even food upon or in



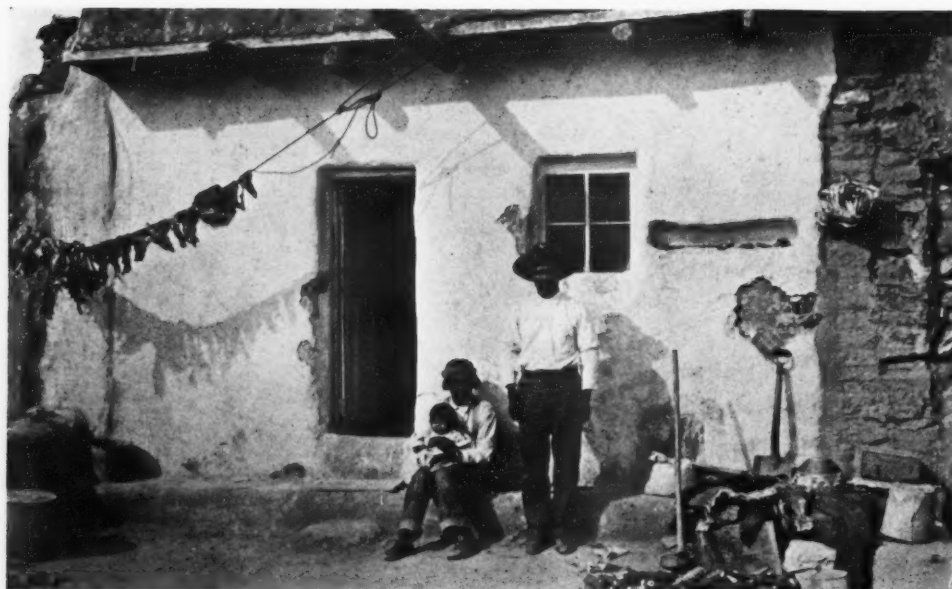
Hillside of Laguna, New Mexico.

the grave, anything that the departed particularly cared for; but it is not that the spirit must have food for its journey as has been persistently said. It is in the Oriental spirit. A smart American remarked to a Chinaman, "You put that stuff on your friend's grave. You think he comes back to eat it?" And the Oriental replied, "You put flowers on your flens grave. You think he come back to smell em?" So with the Indian, though the body is forgotten, remembrance and veneration follow the spirit.

One of the amazing things in our civilization is our cult of the dead. Think of our funerals, ceremonies, tombs, mausoleums, ghosts, devils, spirits, angels, heaven, hell, purgatory, celestial cities, pearly gates, streets of gold, judgment day, reincarnation, and a thousand other concepts concerning the unseen world and unseen powers. Consider if after all it gets us much beyond

the simple Indian conception of the uninterrupted life—the body to the refuse heap, the spirit to Sipophe with the ancients.

To people educated under our traditions, it is well nigh impossible to conceive of civilization without nationality. "National aspirations," "national honor," "Brittania rules the waves," "Deutschland über alles," these are the ideals that go with the white skin; likewise *organization*, from the primary classes, the United Student Body, the Federation of Clubs, to the League of Nations, the Parliament of Man, and the Federation of the World—the Inter-Planetary Alliance not yet called for because of our inability to molest one another across the celestial spaces. Our passion for organization, for offensive and defensive alliances among societies and states, grows out of the propensity for meddling in one another's affairs



Governor's House at Acoma, New Mexico.
Governor of Acoma (1917) and brother (standing).

which seems inherent in European peoples, including of course modern America. Alliances and leagues, treaties and laws innumerable testify to this inability to get on without interference with one another.

Whatever the forces were that directed the evolutionary processes in the European race to the white skin, the contentious spirit, the passion for individual glory, the determination to rule, they were and are inescapable. It is not possible for the European to conceive of a better state of society than that attained to by way of mighty ambitions, mighty conflicts, mighty individual power. He succeeds in formulating a body of doctrine with which to transform the social, political, and economic state of man. Given the opportunity to try it out (witness Russia), he proceeds by the only method

the European knows to erect his ideal, arriving at just what the European always has arrived at by European methods, namely, the state organized by force, maintained by force, depending upon force for its existence. When Europe accepted, theoretically, an opposite ideal for human society and took over the oriental conception, it did not long handle it by the gentle methods of Galilee, nor did the results bear much resemblance to the spiritual structure exemplified in the life and teachings of the Son of Man. Splendor of priesthood and magnificence of church, inquisition and stake, slaughter of Christian nations by other Christian nations—these are curious concomitants to derive from a religion founded on humility and tolerance and the "love thy neighbor as thyself" idea. But it is the European way.



Picuris, a dwindling pueblo, New Mexico.

But what has all this to do with the Pueblo Indians? Nothing at all, except that these tendencies of the white race constitute the most troublesome set of problems that we have to face, and

"The things you learn from the yellow
and brown
Will help you a lot with the white."

America had a different effect upon its human population. Whatever the forces were that directed the evolutionary processes in the native race to the attainment of the red skin, the idea of life in harmony with the processes of nature, of satisfaction in esthetic and spiritual activity rather than in material progress and power, they did their work as effectively as did the old world forces. The culture of the Indian can only be destroyed by killing the Indian, and the Pueblo is the best surviving example of native American culture. In it are preserved the physical, intellectual, and

spiritual elements that characterize the whole native American race.

The Pueblos exemplify to an extent not achieved by any other people in the world to my knowledge, excepting the Indians of Old Mexico and Central America to whom they are culturally related, the community type of social structure as distinct from the state or national type. There was no individual ownership in land. It belonged to the community, and individuals, heads of families, were granted the use of it by the council. Nominally it was re-allotted each year, but actually there was little re-distribution from year to year, the occupant generally keeping his patch of land as long as he did his part in the community works. There was no common ownership in crops or other personal property. In fact, there was no community property save the land, sanctuaries, and the religious parapher-



Corn Dance at Santo Domingo, New Mexico.

nalía. Occupants of the great community houses virtually owned the apartment occupied. Tenure was for the life of, not only the family, but of the clan, and there were no transfers of ownership. When a clan died out, the apartment was abandoned. For that reason, portions of community houses are often seen in ruins while the town is still well populated.

What is the lesson to be derived from Pueblo communism? Simply that developing naturally as it did through the ages along with the color of the skin, and all the elements of his character, it was a good way for the Pueblo, as was his religion. That a similar system would fit a people of our race that has developed a totally different character through ages of totally different experience is as absurd as to expect the leopard to change his spots or the Ethiopian his skin by simply deciding to do so.

THE CLAN SYSTEM OF THE PUEBLOS

A word as to the clan system. A clan comprised all the descendants of a traditional maternal ancestor. Children belonged to the clan of the mother. Clans bore the name of some conspicuous object in nature; as the eagle, bear, sun, water, earth, turquoise, etc. There was an intimate relationship with nature that will be referred to farther on in connection with the religion of the Pueblos. Sons married away from the clan and did nothing to perpetuate it. Daughters on marrying remained, building the new home adjacent to that of the mother. Thus many daughters born to a clan meant increase. If a time came when sons only were born in the clan, it became extinct.

Marriage must be outside of the clan, but mating into another community was frowned upon. Especially do the dwindling villages object to their girls



Buffalo Dance at San Ildefonso, New Mexico.
(Second "Buffalo Man" just behind the "Buffalo Woman.")

marrying outside the town unless the new bridegroom is annexed to their own population. They care nothing about him, but they want the increase for their own village. Not that there is ever any feverish boosting of population. Since there can be no real estate booms among them, there is no competition to see which shall be counted the largest town in the region, but there is always keen solicitude for the natural perpetuation of the tribe. Bachelors are extremely rare, since only heads of families count in the body politic. Women never remained unmarried during the period of fertility. The bearing of children, the building of the home (actually constructing it with her own hands), the purveyance of food and clothing, the practice of the domestic arts, the maintenance of the cultural traditions—these are privileges and duties of the Pueblo

woman. It would seem to leave the man enviably free from care, but it must be remembered that he carries the community government on his shoulders, and the still more weighty affairs of religion. He must keep the ceremonies going twelve months in the year, not becoming desperately earnest in the expression of his faith in time of stress only, as the white brethren are sometimes accused of doing, but pressing steadily forward with the regularity of the seasons, in prosperity as well as in adversity, attending faithfully to the business of keeping in proper relations with the deific powers. It has been remarked that much of his time is occupied in "getting ready for dances, having dances, and getting over dances," the same thing that is giving parents and teachers of young high school



Ramoncita. Maria. Ramona.
Tewa Artists at San Diego Exposition.

adolescents so much to worry about in these modern times.

Moreover, he is a good farmer on a small scale, an industrious laborer when it doesn't too seriously conflict with the duties above mentioned. He is the indispensable guide and companion of the touring tenderfoot; the chief reliance of the artist, ethnologist, and special writer. His duties in connection with historic pageants and world's fairs are considerable. Add to this his modern function of furnishing steady occupation to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of Justice, Federation of Women's Clubs, Indian Rights Association, Indian Defense League, congressional committees, his pilgrimages to the east in war bonnet and beaded vest (as foreign to him as a tuxedo on a Hottentot), and you have some conception of the kaleidoscopic life of the Pueblo man of today.

RELIGION OF THE PUEBLOS

The religious life of the Pueblos is the key of their whole existence. Their arts, industries, social structure, government, flow in orderly sequence from their beliefs concerning nature and deific power. The character of their religion I have indicated in earlier paragraphs of this article. In its essence it is almost what modern science has attained to—the conception of Nature and God as one. The Indian has arrived at it through ages of experience, of reflection, of participation in the manifestations of divine power; the scientist through systematic investigation and deduction. It doesn't matter which of the roads we have taken:

"All of them lead to the light."

As I have repeatedly said, the religion of the Pueblos, as of all their cultural relatives, rests on two basic ideas, namely, belief in the unity of life as



Two Keres Indians: Santo Domingo.

manifested in all things, and in a dual principle in all existence, fundamentally, male and female. Their religion finds expression in almost every act of life, in industries, arts, decorations; but the supreme act of worship is seen in the drama dance. The Indian is little enough understood in any respect, but in the matter of his so-called dances this is abysmal ignorance, obstinate misunderstanding, wilful misrepresentation. Almost every Pueblo ceremony that is performed in public is a prayer of intense sustained fervor. By common consent, among civilized races, we refrain from interfering with people in their devotions. In our nation dedicated to religious freedom, and in our constitution we guarantee everyone the right of religious worship, but, strange to say, from time to time government and missionary join in harassing the Pueblo in the expression of his faith. It is

just as vicious as interference with Catholic mass or Protestant sacrament. Various reasons are offered. The ceremonies are alleged to involve great waste of time from profitable industry, though it is but a small fraction of that wasted in bridge and dancing in modern society. They are said to be indecent, though our social ballroom would cause a blanket Indian to cover his face. In twenty-five years of observing Pueblo ceremonies, I have seen a few vulgar exhibitions as side episodes—nothing like so flagrant as may be seen any evening in Chicago, London, Paris, Naples, or Cairo. Vulgar, vicious, barbarous, idolatrous, are what the Pueblo dances are to some—to others the perfection of estheticism, the culmination of ages of devotion. It must be remembered that the Pueblos are an ancient mature race. They are not infants nor incompetents. Coercive authority over them as to

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Diegito: Tewa Rain Priest.

their religion is unwarranted under our government, a violation of our institutions, and repugnant to fair-minded men.

INDIAN DANCES

However, our incurable optimism again saves us from despair. The order has gone forth from time to time for several decades that the Indian dances must cease; that these pagan rites will no longer be permitted to obscure the path to citizenship and enlightenment. But thanks to our two-party system, official Washington is a variable body. Administrations come and go. Not so the Pueblo. From his mesa top he looks confidently to the Great Father in Washington, viewing with approval the changing personnel that wrestles with his affairs. He knows that if the pres-

sure just now is on his "obscene" dances these will be forgotten soon in an exciting onslaught upon his peyote evil and that another haircut order is due somewhat later. Thus without obtrusively resisting the mandates of the Great Father with reference to his rain prayers he manages to keep the sacred fires burning from age to age, and in the process of official fluctuations his hair returns to normalcy.

PEYOTE AND WHISKEY

When there is nothing else to save the Indian from, there is always the terrible peyote to fall back on. Whiskey came to him with the civilization of the white man. He accepted it rather more eagerly than he did some of the other elements of Caucasian culture, and its effects were more deadly upon him than upon the long immunized Europeans. It killed Indians off at a rather rapid pace, and moreover introduced the homicidal tendency of the "superior race" to an alarming extent. To his credit it must be said that the Indian gave to prohibition a welcome not accorded to it by the white man. Reservation superintendents and Indian police testify that ninety per cent of their difficulties vanished when whiskey disappeared. Peyote on the other hand has never been productive of disorder. On the testimony of many Indians, fully as reliable as that of an equal number of whites, no Indian has ever been moved to beat up his wife or anyone else, or shoot up the reservation, while under the influence of peyote. It never induces violence or quarrelsomeness but the exact contrary. The users testify to experiencing only feelings of quite contentment and good-will toward their fellow men; find their sense of color, which is always keen, highly intensified; they experience no loss of self-control

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but find even such habits as extreme drunkenness controlled and eliminated by this benign gift of the desert. Consequently it long since came to be used as a religious rite, as temperately as the sacrament with us, and as reverently. Tribes using it assert that not a single case of debilitation or any of the indications of the dope addict can be traced to the use of peyote. It might therefore be well to refrain from the perennial efforts to repress it, and leave the Indian alone in this as in other phases of his religion.

In short the Indian is no fool. His convictions are for the most part based on sober experience. Long has he pondered the gifts of nature, of deific power, and found them good. So all the gifts he offers to nature and to fellow man are good. Never does he offer an evil gift, and since all that he enjoys, food, children, life itself, are gifts from nature and fellow man, he tries to return them in kind. His first gift to every stranger is food, shelter, rest, hospitality; to the departing guest something for substantial remembrance. The Indian woman unclasps her most precious bracelet or necklace to decorate her departing friend. You think she can not afford it, as when the peace party visits its neighboring tribe bearing gifts of their most needed substance; but they return laden with equally precious gifts, and regardless of any material consideration the needs of the spirit have been satisfied. What the white man calls the "giving away" ceremonies and tours of the Indians is the survival of the ancient peace pilgrimage.

ATTITUDE TOWARD WHITE MAN EDUCATION

As to the gifts of the white man the Indian entertains a reasonable doubt. Among them were fire arms, fire water



Crescencio: Master Artist of San Ildefonso (deceased).

and other agencies that kill, such as tuberculosis, syphilis and numerous other scourges; a new style of costume which has proven to be less sanitary than his ancestral garb—so scanty as to be uninviting to disease germs—a religion which seems rather barren of results as he compares it with his ancient philosophy, and a system of education that seems to him devoid of some essentials of the learning that belongs with true manhood. Benjamin Franklin in some "Remarks concerning Savages of North America" recites the answer of the six tribes to the commissioners from Virginia who informed the Indians that they would be pleased to provide for the education of a limited number of Indian youths. The government would see that they were well

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provided for and instructed in all the learning of the white people. After the consideration which their notion of politeness demanded they replied expressing their sense of the kindness of the Virginia government. They stated, "We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, nor kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counselors—they were therefore totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know and make men of them."

I have sometimes wondered if it would not be wise for our office of Indian Affairs to call a convention of the "best minds" from our universities, scientific foundations, and business organizations, to consider the subject of Indian education with a view to making some

revisions in the system which has been provided which might more nearly relate the Indian school work to the physical, intellectual and spiritual nature of the race.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PUEBLOS

Reports on the conditions of the Pueblos during the past winter have been conflicting. There was much needless alarm; nevertheless in two Pueblos, San Ildefonso and Tesuque, the food supply for people and animals fell somewhat below a living standard. Of the stock, some died. Among the people, there was some hunger, but no great suffering. The thought of hunger is about as awful to us as the reality is to them. They have been down to the iron ration a considerable part of the time in the centuries past, but I have never heard of a case of starvation among them. It is one of the marvels of adaptation to see Indians of the southwest, with no money to buy food, subsisting and apparently in good condition in a region where we can discover nothing more edible than mesquite. A white man marooned in a mesquite thicket in southern Arizona would promptly starve to death; but a Mojave woman in the same place would keep her brood in fair condition on the gifts of the desert according to the season; tender roots, new leaves, green pods, and matured beans. As for clothing, give a Mojave woman access to a swamp of willows and she will keep her family clothed in latest Colorado Basin styles from the bark, and in addition produce most of the necessary utensils for house-keeping, as well as dolls and playthings for the children. So we must not be too distressed when we see Indians with no visible means of sustenance. They have meat that we know not of, and a certain efficiency that seems uncanny. Feeding

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a family off a mesquite patch is nothing short of a miracle to us, but to them a commonplace affair.

It is true that the Pueblos are succumbing to certain depravities which seem avoidable. They buy white flour at the store in place of grinding their own grain on the metate stone by hand. They lose the exercise of the grinding, and moreover bread from fine bolted white flour is even worse for the Indian than for the white man. The tin lard pail is rapidly taking the place of the beautiful olla carried on the head and the Indian woman is therefore destined to lose that erect, measured, dignified carriage that was acquired through ages of pacing up and down the cliffs in the capacity of city water works—losing a still greater thing, the love for the beautiful work of art of her own creation and the desire to create objects of beauty; gaining instead that deadly state of mind that is characteristic of inferior people, a passive toleration of the commonplace. To realize the extent to which the love of beautiful forms and lines and color is a part of the life of the Indian, you must see an aged potter crooning over her works in clay, producing exquisite forms and patterns after all other desires are gone, the physical senses well nigh obliterated, but a spiritual sense still active, the last of all the faculties to succumb.

DEMAND FOR RELIEF

There are some things that must be done for the relief of the Pueblo Indians, and it is a pleasure to note that the government is disposed to meet the situation in a liberal spirit. Sympathetic individuals and organizations may have been over-zealous in their activities on behalf of the Pueblos during the past year, and the Interior Department and officers of government

have just cause for resenting the resort to paid propaganda, but it must be remembered that those on the outside of government circles find it hard to understand the delays in carrying out measures that are agreed upon by all as just and necessary. It is hard to understand how some officials can devote so many years to service among the Indians and learn so little about them—equally hard to understand how some who never saw an Indian until an opportunity for a magazine article is secured, can, after a few days motoring about in New Mexico, know so much. The Pueblos must be guaranteed the possession of the lands that are rightfully theirs. They must be helped in the development of their agriculture by irrigation and drainage. We can well afford to strain many points in the legality and procedure in order to do justice to these Indians whose opportunities have been steadily shrinking through the centuries, and in doing so we can still do substantial justice to all their non-Indian neighbors. True, it is a complicated problem in the Rio Grande Valley, but one that can be settled in justice if legal technicalities are not allowed to interfere. "This situation is one that twenty Solomons could not unravel," said the assistant to the attorney general of the United States in his most able presentation of the Pueblo lands condition before the Senate hearing last December. I felt moved to concur with him at the moment but with the mental reservation, "Yes, but one Roosevelt could." Besides being made secure in the possession of their lands the Pueblos must be supported in the exercise of their ancient religious beliefs and customs. They must be protected in matters of sanitation and health, and at our expense, for the epidemics and infections from which

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they suffer most are our contributions. As a result of the discussion over proposed legislation a bill has emerged which will in all probability be considered at the next session of Congress. As all parties concerned appear to have reached an agreement with reference to this measure it is hoped there will be no dissent when it comes before Congress next winter.

Let no one think however that this or any other legislation will settle the problems of the Pueblo Indians. They are not to be settled by law, though some relief may be obtained in this way. Let no one think that they are to be settled by stirring up emotions of New York or assaulting official Washington. There has been no closed season on the Indian office in my life-time. Against the endemic criticism of half a century it has developed almost perfect immunity. Being totally unprepared for overtures of friendly co-operation it will be found that Indian officials are extremely vulnerable to this kind of attack. In fact, in twenty-five years of contact with officials of the Indian Department, from Commissioner down to reservation employees, I have found few disposed to resist co-operation. It should be given a trial before resorting to further violence.

The Pueblo problems are those which have inevitably arisen through contact with a stronger people, and back of this

lie ages of experience which have prepared them for a kind of existence that is denied them in the evolution of modern society. Much thought will have to be given to the matter and old prejudices and beliefs laid aside if these people are to survive. I believe it would be possible to turn the tide which has set so strongly against them but it would necessitate measures which in all probability will not be permitted by those who control their affairs, simply because of the general inability to understand a people so unlike ourselves, or appreciate a man, motive or mentality that does not bear our own impeccable image. But the effort must be made. If I may be permitted to offer one more solution, this is not a job for emotionalists, or sentimentalists or politicians. Matters of this kind nowadays are placed in the hands of specialists. Sanitary engineers are called in to clean up infected areas and put them in the way of progress. The Pueblo question is one for specialists in human conservation. If the little Pueblo grants could be made inviolate for the Indians, treated as human game preserves and the occupant accorded the wise and kindly protection that we have thrown about the disappearing buffalo, there is no reason why the results should not be equally satisfactory.

*School of American Research,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.*



CASAS GRANDES POTTERY

By KENNETH M. CHAPMAN

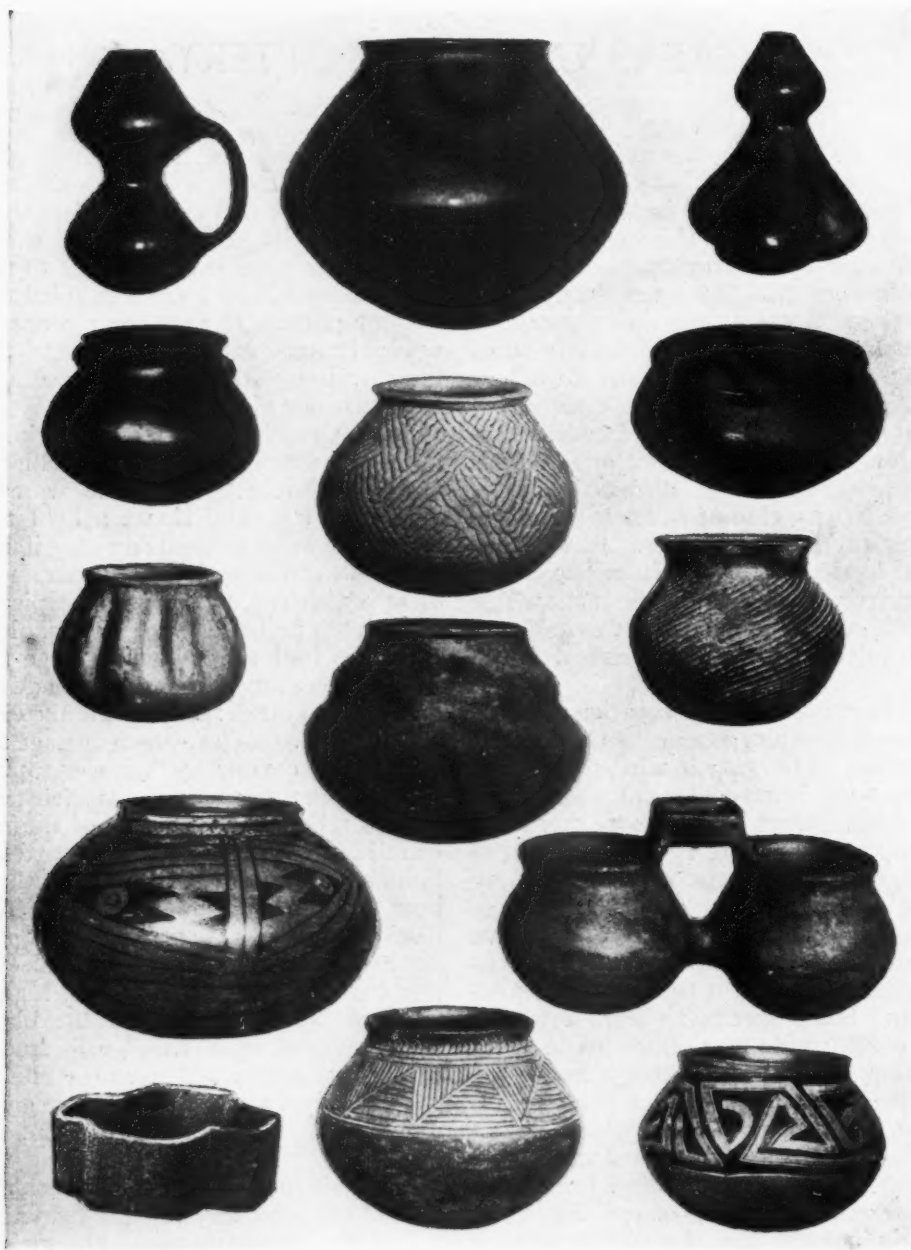
THE Casas Grandes region of northern Chihuahua is believed by archaeologists to have been the southern outpost of the ancient Pueblo culture of the Southwest. Long before the Spanish conquest was extended into northern Mexico, this once populous area had been abandoned, and the ruins of many-storied communal dwellings were all that remained to remind the first explorers of a vanished race. Tradition is silent as to their origin, their kinships, and their dispersal. They have left no clue as to their language, their myths, and beliefs. But an imperishable record of their achievement survives in their ceramic art, which ranks as one of the most notable in the culture history of aboriginal America.

The remarkable preservation of Casas Grandes pottery is due to the ancient practice of burying it with their dead, who were interred beneath the floors of their homes. Here, safe from the wreckage of falling roofs and walls of abandoned dwellings, and protected by the resulting mounds of debris, these masterpieces of the potters' art have lain undisturbed for unnumbered centuries until brought to light by excavation. Some specimens show evidence of considerable use, others are as fresh in appearance as if they had gone directly from the kiln to the grave. One of the most notable collections of this ware is that in the Museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe, from which a representative group of specimens has been chosen for the accompanying plates. As compared with much of the ancient pottery of the Southwest, the pieces are small. The largest water jars

do not exceed ten inches in height, while many finely finished bowls and other pieces of odd shape are less than three inches in diameter. The excellence of the ware is due in part to the fine quality of clay, which enabled the ancient potters to produce a ware of unusual thinness, and in part to the fine pigments with which they produced their lustrous blacks and reds.

Casas Grandes pottery may be classified very simply as plain, red, black, and polychrome. The plain ware is without a slip, and shows a light tan or reddish color of the body clay itself. The red ware takes its color from a slip of brownish red, which in some pieces was highly polished before firing. Examples of both are shown on page 27. Many pieces have decorations made by incising and other means while the clay was still soft. One jar, shown on page 26, was entirely covered by thin overlapping bands of clay to produce a twilled pattern in relief. A few pieces of the red ware have painted black key patterns bordered by incised lines, while others bear the black decoration alone. The black ware (plate 1) resembles that still produced at Santa Clara and other Tewa pueblos of New Mexico. It was highly polished before firing, and the black was produced by a smudge of smoke before it was removed from the kiln.

The polychrome ware shows great diversity in form and decoration. A slip was seldom used in finishing the surface, so that the prevailing color is that of the body clay itself, a light tan. Where a white slip was used, the ancient potters must have learned from experience that it was far from satisfactory, for it wears and flakes off easily, and



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Plate I. Plain, Black, and Red Ware.

The black ware resembles that still produced at Santa Clara and other Tewa pueblos of New Mexico.



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Plate II. Red and Black Ware.

Vases are ornamented by single, double or triple bands of continued or paneled designs in red or black.



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Plate III. Beautiful Polychrome Ware.

The low, rounded base, the high, sloping upper body, and slightly flaring rim are worthy of study, yet no two have the same size and proportion.



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Plate IV. Beautiful Polychrome Ware.

The wonderful skill and precision with which the designs are executed, and the effective use of black and red in balanced spaces make a series of these jars a delight to the eye.



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.
Plate V. Human, Bird and Serpent Forms.

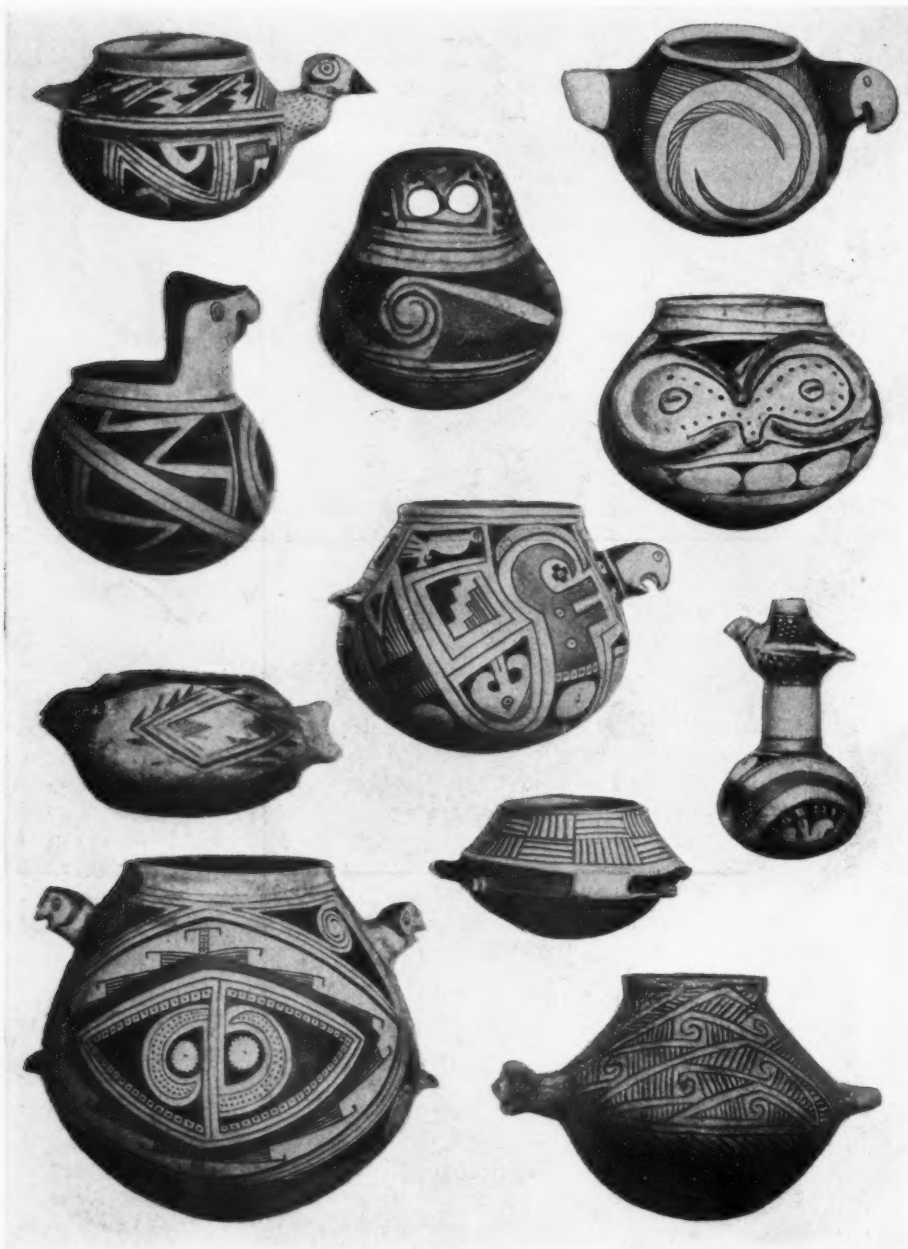
The human and bird figures are usually made by negative drawing, in which the background, painted solid black, brings the figure into strong relief.



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Plate VI. Effigy Jars.

They comprise representations of human and animal forms, as well as birds, fish, turtles and serpents. The faces of the human effigies are quite flat; the features are produced by both modelling and painting.



Casas Grandes Pottery, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Plate VII. Effigy Jars.

In some specimens the life features are added to the typical forms of jars, in others a mask is built up from the rim, and this, being hollow, gives a convenient grip for carrying.

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much of the decoration of these white pieces has disappeared. A comparatively crude type consists of jars ornamented by single, double, or triple bands of continuous or paneled designs in red and black (plate 2). The most beautiful Casas Grandes jars are of the type shown on plates 3 and 4. The low, rounded base, the high, sloping upper body, and slightly flaring rim are repeated in hundreds of specimens, yet no two have quite the same size or proportion. In some there is a slightly rounded shoulder, in others a slight incurving of the straight sides. The wonderful skill and precision with which the designs are executed, and the effective use of black and red in balanced spaces make a series of these jars a delight to the eye.¹ The decoration usually consists of a single zone which extends from the rim to the base. In some this is divided into panels (plate 3), in others the dominating motif is a zigzag band (plate 4). Five jars on plate 5 have representations of human, bird, and serpent forms. The human and bird figures are usually made by negative drawing, in which the background, painted solid black, brings the figures into strong relief. Two serpents are shown on plate 5. They are drawn with straight lines, so that a pair placed about the circumference of a jar gives the effect of a zigzag band.

Bowls are less frequently found. Several of these are shown on plates 2 and 4. The decoration is usually a simple exterior band of geometric design. A few odd shaped pieces of exquisite workmanship add variety to the collection. One delicately modelled little jar with

a handle (page 28) has a finely executed design in black which has all the lustrous quality of enamel. This and several other specimens show the use of a mineral pigment for the black, which with proper firing produced a true glaze.

The key and meander, the spiral and stepped motifs of the various jars and bowls of pages 27, 28, 29 are only local variations of those found on most ancient Pueblo pottery, and suggest a common source in remote antiquity. But other elements, such as the curvilinear forms with eyes, produced by negative drawing within triangles, are peculiar to Casas Grandes symbolism alone. A number of these occur on plate 3.

Effigy jars, which are so rare in ancient Pueblo pottery, are here found in great profusion, and appear to be an early and important element in Casas Grandes art. They comprise representations of human and animal forms, as well as birds, fish, turtles, and serpents. In some specimens the life features are added to the typical forms of jars, in others a mask is built up from the rim and this, being hollow, gives a convenient grip for carrying. This feature is more clearly explained in the two side views on plates 6 and 7. Others consist of animal and human figures, the latter both seated and recumbent. The faces of the human effigies are quite flat; the features are produced by both modelling and painting. Some bear designs on the cheeks which appear to have some special symbolic meaning, others are ornamented by geometric elements such as are used upon the jars themselves.

Some pieces of unusual form and decoration are found in every collection of Casas Grandes ware. Many specimens, such as the six at the bottom of plate 5, are more like ancient types of pottery from southern New Mexico and

¹ For a detailed, illustrated account of this decorative system, consult: Kidder, *The Pottery of the Casas Grandes District, Chihuahua, Holmes Anniversary Volume*, pp. 253-268.

For fine colored reproductions with explanatory drawings of designs, consult: Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, Vol. I, Plates I-V, and pp. 95-98.

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Arizona. Another on plate 4 has the typical Casas Grandes form with a spiral motif similar to that of the small jar on plate 5. All these suggest a culture contact, if not a trading back and forth of the wares of these regions. But whatever these activities may have been, they made little impression on a flourishing and purely indigenous

art, which must have developed through a long period of freedom from interference. Casas Grandes pottery speaks as clearly as a written record of the well-being and contentment, and the joy of self expression that were the heritage of this simple people long before Europeans ever dreamed of a New World.

Santa Fe, New Mexico.

CASAS GRANDES POTTERY IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

PRACTICALLY the remarks of Messrs. Chapman and Kidder apply also to the Casas Grandes collection deposited in the United States National Museum by the Archaeological Society of Washington. This collection forms a striking exhibit. The word "striking" is appropriately used as the specimens command attention not only for their beauty of material, form, and design, but on account of their individuality which, as Mr. Chapman suggests, must be the result of a long isolation in which the artists held to their own series of decorative motives.

The Casas Grandes valley is a particularly favorable environment for the peaceful working out and fixing characteristic features of art. There were arid stretches on all sides inhabited by tribes of low culture who were not dangerous to established communities. The problem of water, which is particularly intense in this region and which determines all settlements and movements of population, did not affect the people of Casas Grandes in their basin without outlet, watered by streams from the southern Sierras. Here, if these Indians were supposed to be an offshoot of the Pueblos, they must have lived many centuries before their art was developed, becoming so greatly different from Pueblo culture.

This difference is notable. It is particularly evident in the forms of the vessels. It strikes the observer as a certain opulence of form rarely expressed by the Pueblos. There is subtlety, but the subtlety of the south—an expression of luxuriance which displays itself in finish. The sloping shoulder element so strong in Casas Grandes ceramics is probably based on some vegetal form, for instance, the gourd or jicara. There is apparent step from bowl to vase which is so often seen in Pueblo forms. The rarity of bowls is curious when one observes their profusion in the neighboring region of the Mimbres. Casas Grandes pottery is different; it has no known relatives. Pima-Papago black on buff comes nearest. The decorative designs employed by the Casas Grandes artist-potters also express a richness, a free imagination playing with and around a not very numerous scale of motives. One would place them historically at the era of the Sikyatki potters who found a medium in their superb ivory clay, like that of the Chihuahua artists, and who developed their art to its fullest extent. The effigy jars, the profusion of which Mr. Chapman calls to attention, may correspond to the cahinas or ancestral spirits of the Hopi.

WALTER HOUGH.

U. S. National Museum.



General View of the Casas Grandes Region, Chihuahua, Mexico.

ANAHUAC AND AZTLAN

RETRACING THE LEGENDARY FOOTSTEPS OF THE AZTECS

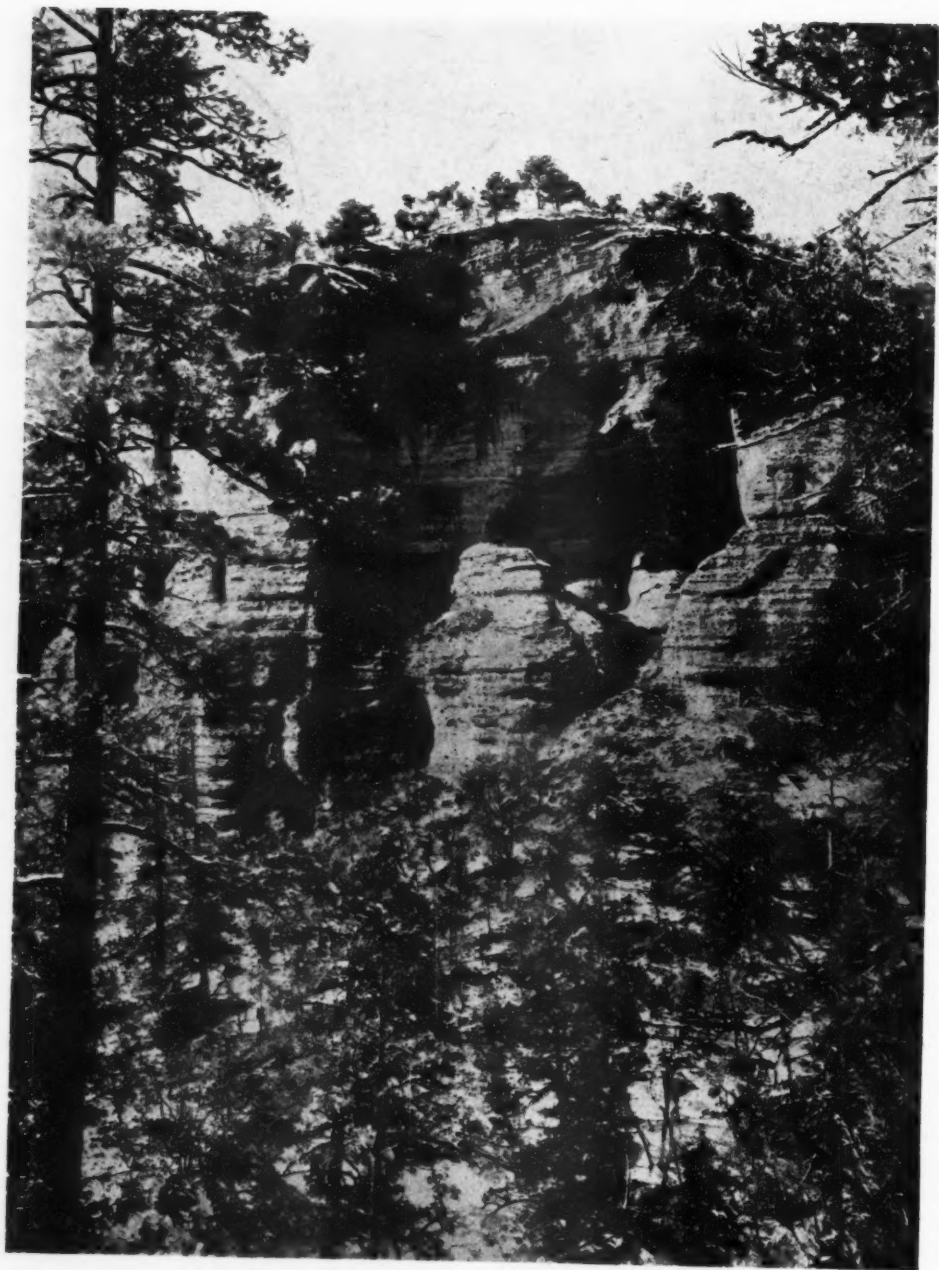
By EDGAR L. HEWETT

THE history of Mexico prior to the Spanish occupation abounds in problems that invite investigation. Its records are not of the kind that historians of the old-fashioned sort were wont to deal with; hence the incredible mess that Prescott and others made of it. Unhappily, this has been the source of most of the text-book history of Mexico, the basis of what knowledge we thought we had of that fascinating land for some generations.

THE ROMANTIC SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS

The romantic school of historians was augmented by an equally romantic school of archaeologists, and to make matters worse, LePlongeon and Ignatius Donnelly arose, flourished and were immensely satisfying to a certain type of nineteenth century mind. So it came about that a veil of mystery enshrouded Middle America. The fabled Atlantis was in high favor and the "vanished

races," Toltec, Aztec and Maya, invited the imaginings of dreamers. All sorts of fantastic theories gained acceptance and prepared the soil for the present day fabrications which occupy the daily press and are believed by millions. The showman was speaking sober truth when he said the public likes to be humbugged. Probably at no previous time in history has the public ear been so attuned to the music of archaeological romance. "Lost tribes of Israel" are dragged to light in Central America. Plain Indian tribes are not an acceptable substitute for "mighty races of the past" that have mysteriously vanished; groups of confederated villages do not strike a responsive chord as do the "Old and New Empires of Yucatan and Mexico." Mythical emperors, kings and high priests are more thrilling than commonplace chiefs and medicine men. The stubborn hieroglyphic writings and decorative symbols of Central America are perennially de-



Cliff Houses, Eastern Slope, Sierra Madre Mountains, Mexico.



Aztec Rock Sculpture in Northern Mexico.

ciphered (or just about to be) by means of Egyptian Rosetta stones or ancient Rabbinical keys or something just as good. Anon, they are read by some learned Turk or Hindu pundit, and of late, Chinese scholars are accused of reading with ease inscriptions on slabs excavated near Mexico City. This is credible. Given a little time for preparation, I could undertake to dig up inscriptions at some approved spot, say on the Acropolis of Santa Fe, that would make perfectly good Chinese laundry tickets.

Nevertheless, after years of toil by Maudsley and Maler and Morley and all the rest who have really toiled in the jungles of tropical America, to say nothing of those who have viewed the scenes from comfortable verandas, knowledge of the history of early America recorded in literary form by contemporary native historians remains about where it was in the days of the Bishop

Diego de Landa (1542), and some of us, against the hopes of our youth, begin to doubt if there is any so recorded. But science plods along eager for the unvarnished *fact*, even though it fails to make the front page, regardless of the oft-times unwelcome character of its findings.

EARLY HISTORY OF MIDDLE AMERICA A SEALED BOOK

The early history of middle America along the only lines that were considered history until quite recently, such as the achievements, physical and vocal, of warriors and statesmen, the chronicles of wars, successions of dynasties, chronological episodes and epochs, is a sealed book. Probably it had little or no history of that sort. If so, it was quite as well off. That kind of stuff got the attention of historians, even as the crimes and calamities of the present day get the headlines in the American

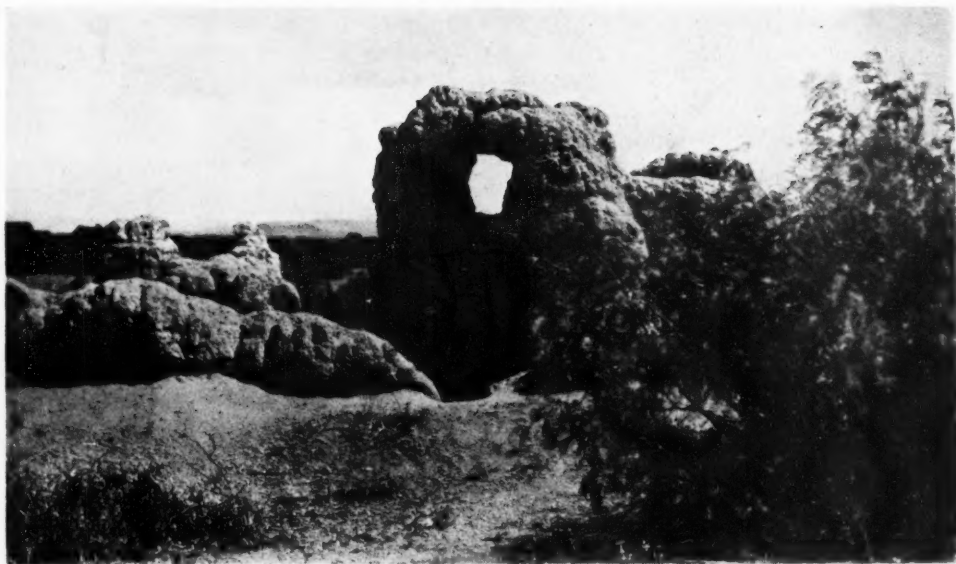


An Aztec Temple, Tepoztlan, Mexico.

press. The European conception of history comes from an early appreciation of the slogan, "It pays to advertise." Greatness and security in history were often attained by way of oral and literary effort, the skillful use of the press agent, or, before there was any press, the vassal whose business it was to laud the King and see that his greatness was properly recognized. It is a method of making history that is in high favor at the present time.

Most enjoyable it is to turn and contemplate those calm ages of America, the history of which is solely a cultural record of the slow evolution of racial life. Here are deep currents of culture growth expressed from day to day and age to age in the industrial, social, esthetic and religious activities of the people, surviving in fragments that enshrine whatever of nobility has been attained; fragments of beautiful structures built not to the glory of gods or

heroes, simply as expressions of spiritual fervor; fragments of dramatic ceremonies, not celebrating the deeds of individuals, human or divine, but presenting in color and rhythm and symbolic movement the soul of a people in vibrant aspiration to its own perfection. We hear much of late of "national aspirations," a noble term misused by political charlatans to designate the unrest and bewilderment engendered by them in simple people who should be permitted to travel the normal road of racial development. The displacement of age-old cultural contentment with "national aspirations" is sometimes a terrible disservice. Some of the peoples who are at present undergoing the ordeal take to it about as Huck Finn submitted to having his ears washed. They may rise to their "new freedom" and gain some ground; but Huck unerringly found his way back to his hogshead.



Adobe walls of the Casas Grandes.

Eagerly we look over the world for the rise of a people that is not worried with "national aspirations," but longing for the greater life of the spirit. If such a race is to grace the earth again, it will almost certainly come from the soil of America and from the blood of its native race, the Indian.

AZTEC LEGEND AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The present paper has to do mainly with legendary episodes in the early history of America that have induced much speculation and some research, namely, the ancient movements of the Aztecs. It is of no great consequence whether the traditions are verified or not. Trail-finding is an absorbing diversion, whether it be piloting your pack train through the wilderness or plodding in the footsteps of races—footsteps made millenniums ago and which Time has patiently covered up.

Just here I wish to say that nothing that I propose to point out in this paper is in any sense a *discovery*. I prefer not to make any more "discoveries." The press is too generous in its treatment of "intrepid explorers." Some of the best known and best loved spots in our happy hunting grounds out in the southwest and down in middle America, spots described long ago by Holmes and Bandelier and Lummis, by United States army officers and geological survey men, by Spanish captains and soldiers of the Cross, by Stephens and Charnay and Maler, from 1540 on, are being discovered with increasing brilliancy. Describe a community house in the Chaco Canyon as from "four to five stories high" and the reporters consider you entirely too modest; it goes into print "forty-five stories high." Then there are the petrified giants of the Grand Canyon,



Adobe walls of the Casas Grandes.

the hobbled-nailed dinosaurs that wore the deep rock-trails of the Pajarito, and the never failing cliff dwellings "not seen by human eyes since," etc., etc. The "secrets of the sacred Cenotes" of Yucatan are regularly yielded up and the brilliancy of that simple oft-told tale is growing amazingly with every telling. The "maidens of the sacrifice" are handled with increasing pathos by each succeeding narrator and we await with high anticipations the inventory of treasure from the holy well. The public appetite for antiquity has been acutely stimulated by the spectacular Egyptian finds of 1922. It, of course, has to be appeased. So the archaeologists are in for a strenuous time for some years to come if they are to supply this demand. A sizable and thrilling volume of archaeological exaggerations of the past year could be compiled. It might issue under the title "Keeping up with Tutankhamen."

THE STORY OF THE AZTECS

Let us begin our study of the Aztecs. They flash into the spotlight of history with the invasion of Mexico by Cortez in 1519, simply because they happened to stand in the path of the European bent on conquest—the normal bent of the European. By "right of discovery" the Spaniards claimed the greater part of America and the lands washed by the Pacific Ocean. The boundaries were indefinite, but tremendously inclusive, embracing roughly the greater part of the earth. Other European nations filed overlapping claims, the later adjudication of which makes up part of the text-book history of America. The Indians had staked their claims some thousands of years earlier, occupied the lands, built houses thereon and reared families there—did everything in short that we consider necessary in acquiring title to real estate. But this was overlooked by the European nations. The



Cave with walled front in Cave Valley, Mexico.

native Americans, for justification of ruthless conquest and for conversion from paganism, were designated as "Savages." For advertising purposes back home, the glorification of conquerors and the bamboozling of kings, the same population afforded "empires of the Montezumas."

There is some excuse for misconception concerning the status of the Aztec or Mexican civilization at the time of the conquest. The authorities, Indian and Spanish, are contradictory of one another. But the critical work of the historian and archaeologist is well along and documentary and culture history together furnish correlative outlines of a picture that the most exacting may

accept as true. The Aztecs were a group of village Indians that underwent a rather remarkable development in the Valley of Mexico, the traditional Valley of Anahuac, during the two centuries preceding the conquest. They were not one of the ancient tribes like the Toltecs and Maya; they were late comers that straggled in from the north according to their own traditions, a sorry band, having been in a migratory state for a long while.

Several other bands of the same linguistic stock, all from the north, had preceded them and had appropriated all the best lands and village sites about the lake of Tezcoco for their pueblos. The newcomers were received with



Cliff Dwellings, Cave Valley, Mexico.

scant hospitality. There was some dry land surrounded by swamps and marshes that no one else would have. They had to find refuge somewhere, so they chose the swamps, a place "barely fit to die upon."

PICTURE OF AN AZTEC TOWN

You can now form a picture of the first Aztec village. It was built on the few solid patches of land; huts of rushes and swamp grass—about the simplest structure ever built that would pass for a shelter. They were hemmed in by unfriendly though related tribes, forced to live mainly on fish, birds and water plants. But this Aztec band must have come from an ancestry that knew how to make the most of scanty resources.

They built up their land, connected it by causeways with the main land. It was first made a defensive position and eventually became a stronghold. These people seem to have been, for Indians, unusually warlike. They became a tribe of warriors and soon were availing themselves freely of the resources of the agricultural tribes about the lake center. Gradually they built a substantial town laid out in ceremonial order and conducted in the typical community manner that characterized the village Indians everywhere.

GROWTH OF AZTEC POWER

In two centuries the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan made themselves known and feared throughout the Valley of Ana-



Cliff Dwelling Granaries, Chihuahua, Mexico.

huac and eastward to the sea. They multiplied in numbers and power, naturally developed able war chiefs and in time established a confederacy with other leading towns of the valley purely for military purposes. When the Europeans arrived and heard of this strong confederated group they saw in it a Mexican nation, state, or feudal empire. There was a wide misinterpretation of a social and political structure, new and strange to them.

All this it must be remembered is largely legendary, but legends of two centuries among peoples who do not depend upon written records may be accepted as fairly reliable history. The tribes of the Valley of Mexico were

mainly agricultural. Their system of community land tenure had developed throughout ages of experience and was suited to their physical and spiritual needs. Then came the Spanish invasion. It was not intended to be a peaceful penetration; it was a conquest. Something happened very soon that the Indians to this day have never been able to understand. A Bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth, promulgated at Rome, May 4, 1493, declared that in consideration of their religious devotion and zeal in converting the savages to the Christian faith, the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain were made absolute possessors for themselves, their heirs and successors forever



Cliff Dwelling Granaries (note similarity to present day Aztec Granary).

of all the lands already discovered and still to be discovered in the new world. By virtue of this document the Spaniards considered the soil of Mexico to belong to them and wherever they went they acted on this assumption.

SPANISH CONQUEST OF MEXICO

Cortez arrived in Mexico with a small force of men, some horses and a few guns; not much of an armament to be sure, but enough to give the Indians their first taste of real European destructive accomplishments. But with all this they could not have prevailed against the superior numbers of the Indians. They would have been wiped

out had not Cortez treated the Indians to an example of high class European diplomacy. Let the student of diplomatic history note that the identical system with which we are so familiar in our time, was used in a successful way by Cortez four centuries ago. He entered into secret treaties with tribes that were jealous of the supremacy of the Mexicans. He granted privileges to certain tribes in return for their aid. He not only secured their assistance in warfare by arraying them against one another, but, by leading them into agreements which they could not understand, deprived them of their soil and of their independence and made them vassals of Spain.



Tarahumaca Indians, Chihuahua.

Weakened by internal dissension, the tribes of the Mexican plateau, numerous and powerful though they were, yielded to their conquerors and in yielding lost their art, their religion, their social structure and their language—everything that a people must maintain if they are to realize a racial destiny. Then began the decline of a great people, a decline that has lasted four centuries. Nowhere else in the world have we a more convincing illustration of the disaster that overtakes a people when deprived of its native culture. The communities of ancient Anahuac came to a standstill with the conquest. Their fate is typical of that which befell most of the tribes of middle America. The population, still largely of Indian blood, does not go forward. Mexico is a "backward nation," and will so remain until the policy of uprooting the native cul-

ture is abandoned and in its place there is established a program of internal development based upon the age old cultural evolution of the race. Of this the student of present day Mexico need not have the slightest doubt.

APPLIED ARCHAEOLOGY IN MEXICO

I commend to the suspicion of Mexico all the solutions for the "Mexican situation" that bear the label "Made in the U. S." or "Made in Russia" (some of which in the days of her bewilderment crept into her constitution) and to unbounded confidence the ideas of some of her own native sons who not only have ideas but the ability to translate them into governmental procedure. As an example of this, I suggest a study of the Department of Agriculture and Fomento in the Mexican Government, which might well be taken as a model



Tarahumaca Indian, Chihuahua.

by less "backward" states. Lest some do not read the bulletins of the Archaeological Institute of America, I wish to quote here something that I said in my annual report for 1922:

"If the program and work of the Department of Anthropological Studies may be taken as indicative of tendencies that are general and destined to prevail throughout the government of Mexico, we may predict rapid and certain progress for that country. In connection with the other departments that are grouped under the Ministry of Agriculture and Fomento, there is being organized a program of development that displays a rare combination of science and statesmanship. I am not aware that in the government of any other country a division of anthropology has been established and is actually functioning coordinate with and equal in importance to, divisions of lands,

agriculture, waters, forests, statistics, biology, geography and climatology. That it is so in Mexico is due to the broad and convincing conception of Dr. Manuel Gamio, that the human and physical resources of the country are interdependent and should be studied in scientific relationship.

"To find anthropology in a Department of Agriculture and Development is a bit startling but only so because it is a new arrangement. It is seen to be not inappropriately placed when anthropology is conceived of in the broadest sense as a true science of man, embracing his physical and cultural evolution, racial and individual variations, social, religious and economic relations. The strength of Dr. Gamio's program is not in the way it reads on paper, but in its visible results. It presents a body of facts relative to population, its history and environ-



Example of the Great Caves, Southern Chihuahua.

mental and social relationships, which if followed up with similar comprehensive studies and reports on important regions, will afford a basis for government which Mexico will be fortunate to have available."

COURSE OF AZTEC MIGRATION FROM THE NORTH

What do we know of the Aztecs of pre-Anahuac times? Simply the legendary paths, and uniformly these lead in from the north. If there were no traditions to that effect, the student of racial origins could not be mistaken. In everything pertaining to the ancient Mexicans, their material culture, esthetic arts, religion, symbolism, social structure, are the shadows of the land to the north—of the ancient pueblos of the American southwest.

In explorations during the past quarter century that have covered both sides of the continental divide from northern

Colorado and Utah to Guatemala and Honduras, the purpose has been to note the natural distribution of the human animal over the mountain, plain and desert areas. There is a certain reasonableness about the major movements of peoples. It was natural for our forebears of the Atlantic seaboard to "go west and grow up with the country." That was the only logical thing to do. From the ancient foci of population in the American Southwest—the basin of the Rio Grande and the tributaries of the Colorado, it was natural to flow southward. There was everything to the south to lure man in that direction. Food was none too plentiful in the early days in the great American desert; its abundance in Mexico could not fail to become known in the north. Clothing always, as now, a heavy drain on the family resources, ceased to be an item of necessity as man drifted southward. Pressure from other tribes, another of



Example of the Great Caves, Southern Chihuahua.

the major causes of migration, would impel to the south, for the ancient village dwellers were probably pressed by stronger neighbors from the north and east.

Now the southwest is covered with ancient ruins—abandoned farms, villages and community houses. We would like to fill the insistent orders for “buried cities,” but we can’t do it. There are none. But there are countless deserted villages—ancient seats of population that have reverted to the desert. What became of their people?

There is close correspondence between the actual structure of a New Mexico pueblo today and an ancient Aztec town of Anahuac. The *teocalli* of the latter has its counterpart in the *kiva* of the pueblo—in function as a sanctuary, a place of mysteries that foreigners never behold, of secret religious rites, of preparation for ceremonies to be held in the open, of tribal

and clan council chamber. Even in the internal arrangement there is much similarity, altar, fire pit, *sipapu*, niches for ceremonial objects. The orthodox Pueblo Indian of today would feel quite at home in an Aztec sanctuary. In religion and social structure these widely separated peoples were basically the same. Reverence for deific powers of earth and sky; priesthoods and brotherhoods for esoteric functions; elaborate ceremonies for the celebrations of seasonal relations between men and all other created things; a community mode of life with organization corresponding to governor, war-captain, council of head men, etc., the symbols used for decorative patterns in esthetic arts drawn from their religious conceptions; the same fine integration of all the factors in cultural growth, industrial, esthetic, social, expressional, and religious—these vestigial relationships are continually

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encountered as one studies the archaeological remains of Aztec and Pueblo or delves into the minds of the surviving peoples of Anahuac and Aztlan.

The American southwest, the land of the ancient Pueblo and Cliff Dwelling tribes, doubtless contributed many migratory bands from time to time in the dim past to the peopling of Mexico. The legendary Aztlan was no doubt some valley from which groups went out from the southwest ages ago to halt eventually in the vale of Anahuac. Seven of these bands figure in Mexican traditions, the last being the Aztec proper; the wornout but belligerent wanderers that were shoved off into the swamp lands of Tenochtitlan destined to become the dominant tribe of Anahuac; the people from which sprang the Montezumas, the chiefs exalted by historians into the "emperors" of a feudal state; the people who made glorious the history of Mexico for a short period, and whose descendants still constitute an important factor in the population of our neighboring Republic of Mexico.

Of their ancestral home the Aztecs themselves preserved some clear traditions. Duran, native Aztec historian, speaks of "seven caves" from which all Nahuatl tribes issued; "these caves are in Teoculhuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a country which we all know to be toward the north and connected with Florida." "They went overland through all the country of the Chichimecas, over the new lands and plains of Cibola." The last named place we now know to have been our New Mexico Zuñi.

Tezozomac, another Aztec historian, speaks of Aztlan from which the Mexicans came as toward the extreme north, using the expression "they had in this land and the lagunes thereof." Here is an indication of water, and the name

"Aztlan" fits the suggestion, meaning, "place of the heron."

AZTEC TRADITIONS OF ANCESTRAL HOME

Acosta, who came to Mexico in 1585, records the traditions of migration of seven principal Nahua tribes of Mexico, all speaking the same language and all coming from the north, though at long intervals apart. He names them in the order of their coming: the Xochomilcos, Chalcas, Tepenecans, Tezcucans, Tlatluicans, Tlascalans, and Aztec or Mexicans. He speaks of them as coming "from other far countries which lie to the north where now they have discovered a kingdom they call New Mexico. There are two provinces in this country, one called Aztlan, which is to say a place of herons, and the other Teoculhuacan, which signifies a land of such whose grandfathers (ancestors) were divine. The Navatalcas (Nahua) point their beginning and first territory in the figure of a cave and say they came forth of seven caves to come and people the land of Mexico." Other historians recite substantially the same traditions.

FROM ANAHUAC BACK TO AZTLAN

Here then are the clues we have to follow in retracing the steps of the Aztecs from Anahuac back to far Aztlan. It is not the purpose of this paper to point out the landmarks along that trail of the centuries. If you fare to the north a thousand miles or so along the eastern base of the Cordillera, keeping well up on the high plateau, you will traverse valleys and plains and mountains over which these ancient peoples must have moved. There is rarely a day's journey that is not marked by more or less conspicuous objects of antiquity. Not, however, until you reach the American southwest are you in the region that meets the

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conditions of the Aztec tradition. This region I have for many years divided roughly into five areas, namely, beginning from the south, the inland basin of Chihuahua, known as the Valley of the Casas Grandes, the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico, a great natural highway from the north to the south, and the three tributary valleys of the Colorado, the Gila, Little Colorado, and the San Juan.

The latter was advanced by Morgan, an enthusiastic student of Pueblo and Aztec relations as the fabled Aztlan. In common with the two other tributary valleys of the Colorado Basin, it meets none of the conditions of the legend, though all were the seats of numerous ancient population. Teoculhuacan, "the place of divine ancestors," suggests the upper Rio Grande Valley, of which Santa Fe may be taken as the center. It is the true "land of the delight makers" where every Indian village still holds its dramatic ceremonies in which the Koshare (delight makers) impersonate the spirits of the ancestors, who by virtue of their spirit state are all divine.

The inland basin of northern Chihuahua is still a "place of the lagunes" and "a place of herons." About its western and southern borders are caves of vast extent, five of which I have personally explored. These may well be of the "seven" of the tradition. I have repeatedly heard of others which I have not yet reached. The ruins of this region are: the Casas Grandes, (great houses), in the center of the valley, vast structures of adobe which have been casually described by a number of writers; the large number of small house mounds scattered over the valley; the cliff dwellings of the western side of the valley, which extend to the crest of a

range and beyond into Sonora; and the great cave ruins of the southern rim. These latter have been much used for burial places. The southern part of this basin, including the crest of the Sierra Madre, and with the winter season the Barancas of the Sonora side, is the home of the Tarahumara tribe, one of the most numerous and least sophisticated of all the tribes of Mexico. The fine aboriginal character of these people is shown in the accompanying photographs.

My first exploration of this charming region was in the spring of 1906 as Fellow of the Archaeological Institute of America; my last, in the summer of 1922, preparatory to further excavations under the auspices of the School of American Research and the Archaeological Society of Washington. There have been several intermediate visits. The illustrations¹ cover the entire period of sixteen years. The beautiful pottery described by Mr. Chapman in this number of ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY bears testimony to the mastery in ceramic art attained by these remote ancestors of Mexican tribes.

Knowing rather intimately almost every mile of the territory along the eastern base of the Cordillera from the San Juan in Colorado and Utah to Mexico City, I can think of but one region that answers fairly well to the conditions of the Aztec legend. It is improbable that the tradition can ever be positively verified, but I should offer no objection if the people of the Casas Grandes region should name their charming basin the Vale of Aztlan.

*School of American Research,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.*

¹ For many of the most beautiful of these photographs, I am indebted to Mr. Porter C. Thede, President and Manager of the Thede Lumber Co., El Paso, Texas.



General View of Cuicuilco, Mexico, looking North.

CUICUILCO, THE OLDEST TEMPLE DISCOVERED IN NORTH AMERICA

By BYRON CUMMINGS

WHEN Cortez and his followers stopped on the top of the circle of mountain ridges and volcanic peaks that surround the Valley of Mexico and looked off to the westward across fertile plains and rolling hills and glistening lakes, they were speechless with amazement. Before them stretched a panorama of beauty, wealth and prosperity of which they had little dreamed.

MEXICO, LAND OF VOLCANOES

Near them on their left towered the snow-clad summits of Popocatepetl and Ixpaccihuatle, and they wondered not that the Indian legend made Popo the rival of the mighty Orizaba whose snow-capped peak mingled with the clouds behind them. As they watched Popo puff his defiance at his more lofty caballero, they noted that there were many slumbering cones in that rampart that seemed to guard this beautiful valley from all intrusion. As they

traversed the slopes and the lowlands and hunted down the subjects of the mighty Montezuma, they stumbled over many a volcanic boulder and fought their way across great tongues of lava that stretched across like dark palls out over the fertile soil of the plains. The gods seem to have taken special delight in some former age in pouring out their fiery wrath upon this region. It had long been a battle ground of nature's forces. The god of fire shook the earth with his mighty hands and shot forth showers of red-hot stones, hissing steam, and killing vapors, and poured forth great streams of scorching lava that destroyed everything in their course. The spirit of the mighty winds swept the earth while the gods of the lightning and the thunder sent torrential rains to deluge the lands. But after these spirits had done their worst, the Sun Father always smiled on them as cheerfully as before; and the Earth Mother put her forces to work to nourish them anew.



Cuicuilco. Uncovering the eastern slope. Part of the original structure and later walls exposed.

RELIGION INSPIRED BY FORCES OF NATURE

Is it strange then that as the people struggled to master and understand their surroundings, they looked with awe and reverence upon these manifestations of a supreme power and felt that it was necessary for them to propitiate the anger of fire, wind and water and win the continuous favor of the sun and the earth?

All through the ages of human history men have struggled to get in closer relationship and understanding with the forces working about them. They in their evident weakness and inferiority have asked, "Who am I and what are these forces that seem continually desirous of destroying me or helping me?" Primitive man in his attempts to solve these problems conceived these forces to be spirits of love or anger, of helpfulness or hindrance, struggling for

supremacy. At first he sought the crest of some high hill or lofty mountain in the vicinity and then brought the most valuable things he possessed and offered them to these mighty spirits whose power seemed beyond his comprehension. Later as he learned to build and utilize rock and clay for constructive purposes, he tried to bring the gods closer to him by rearing great platforms and lofty massive pyramids. On top of these he built altars for sacrifice and arranged wide terraces as dancing places. Here then he chanted his prayers to the great spirits and made his offering to appease their wrath or win their favor and cooperation.

THE "PEDREGAL" OF SAN ANGEL

South of Mexico City some thirty miles stands old Ajusco. It is one of the natural landmarks on the rim of surrounding mountains and guards the pass



Cuicuilco. Eastern side partially uncovered.

leading from the Valley of Mexico to that surrounding Cuernavaca. From its cones stretch out great ridges of dark flinty lava that embrace the slopes and valleys below like the tentacles of some mighty octopus. To the north from a rounded cone lying some distance below the crest and known as Xichtli, emerged a stream that poured down around hills and knolls of yellow tufa and hard blue lava that had been poured out from Ajusco in some former age. This great northerly stream extends off across the plains and is known as the "Pedregal."

Beneath this lava near San Angel have been uncovered human skeletons, pottery and stone implements of a crude type and classed as archaic.¹ Beneath the remains of the Aztec and the still older Teotihuacan cultures at Atzacapatzalco and in the sacred city of Teotihuacan are encountered similar articles of similar manufacture.² In

the state of Morelos and all through the plateau country of Mexico are found objects evidently belonging to the same cultural stage.³ But in none of these locations have been found structures that could be classed as the work of these early people. Their homes were probably crude huts of perishable material and it had been thought that they had not learned to build walls and rear temples and pyramids. But the facts now brought to light demonstrate quite the contrary.

Near Tlalpam this great Pedregal spread out toward the east past Chontongo and Sacatepec, two hills now crowned with ruined pyramids, and

¹ Las Excavaciones del Pedregal de San Angel y la Cultura Arcaica del Valle de Mexico. Por Manuel Gamio.

² La Poblacion del Valle de Teotihuacan. Introduccion por Manuel Gamio, p. 42.

³ Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America. By Herbert J. Spinden, American Museum of Natural History.



Cuicuilco. Altar of Boulders and Clay.

surrounded a hill that seemingly had been used as a sacred gathering place for ages. Years had multiplied into centuries and centuries into milleniums since the feet of men kept time to the music of the drum on its wide-spreading platform. The black scorching stream, burning everything in its wake, crowded up against this low hill until it had hemmed it in on every side. The flinty stream spread over the valley, charring to a blackened mass the quite dense vegetation then growing there, and covering the homes and other evidences of human culture with a capping that has sealed their record so effectively and so long that not even tradition seems to have the vaguest suggestion of the people or their time.

THE HILL OF SAN CUICUILCO

This hill, called by the natives San Cuicuilco, raised its crest above the

deadly fumes and dark tentacles settling around its base threatening to destroy it like some mighty fire-breathing dragon of old. This was not the first time it evidently had stood in silent defiance of the terrible forces of the fire god. From Ajusco or some other near-by point in some long forgotten age this mighty spirit had shot forth quantities of lava shells that rolled down its slopes and lay heaped around its base. Great showers of mud and ashes and pumice had covered the entire region. Strong winds had whirled these about the slopes of the pyramid and piled them over its crest. Did man occupy these valleys then? We have always supposed that the sub-Pedregal period—the culture immediately underlying the Pedregal lava flow—was the earliest in this valley; but at Cuicuilco this culture lies on top of the thick stratum of volcanic ashes and mud that covers the structure, and



Cuicuilco. A sub-Pedregal Man.

extends out under the Pedregal lava. Thus a much older population must have occupied this part of Mexico at some earlier period, for beneath some ten feet of volcanic material are encountered the walls of a large truncated cone whose base lies 25 feet below the surface of the present base of the hill.

DESCRIPTION OF OLDEST AMERICAN TEMPLE

The building is circular in form, some 450 feet in diameter at the base and its latest construction on the top platform attained an elevation of about 100 feet. The sides rise in sloping walls that have an inclination of 45° . These walls are broken by three terraces respectively 13, 38, and 68 feet wide, while the top platform has a diameter of 130 feet. The sloping wall to the first terrace measures 46 feet, that to the second 24, while that to the third

seems to rise only 4 feet. The top platform or fourth terrace rises 5 feet higher. This top platform and the terrace below (68 feet wide) are covered with volcanic material to the depth of 7 feet on the platform and 12 feet on the terrace. On the southwestern side of the platform made by leveling off this volcanic material was a mound of earth and ashes mingled with chunks of lava and water-worn boulders that rose some 20 feet higher. On the lower terraces wherever there was lodging space and about the base of the structure is found volcanic material similar to that encountered covering the two top terraces. At one place on the eastern side it had accumulated to a depth of $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet and held the lava back 33 feet from the pyramid. At another point the ruins of a lofty platform extends out from the pyramid 29 feet, and 11 feet of this lies under the

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Cuicuilco. Uncovering a terrace wall.

lava of the Pedregal. Wherever we have excavated to the pavement surrounding the temple, the story is the same: first a mass of lava shells, then a thick stratum of volcanic material consisting of yellowish clay, ashes and fine pumice, above that the blackened stratum caused by the great heat at the time of the Pedregal lava flow and resting upon that a thick accumulation of recent soil. Where the volcanic material had slid down off the slopes and accumulated at the base of the cone, the lava flowed in over it, burying the base far beneath the enveloping mass.

On top in the center eight feet below the surface is a platform made by

bedding large chunks of lava and water-worn boulders in the volcanic soil. Upon this was constructed another platform of similar materials, oval in form and about one foot high. The eastern half of this is raised three feet higher with a wall of water-worn boulders laid in clay. The interior of this is raised to within a foot of the top with water-worn boulders and clay soil. The outer wall thus forms a horseshoe-shaped altar made of water-worn boulders and clay.

THREE BUILDING PERIODS ANTEDATING LAVA FLOW

Beneath the platform upon which this altar rests is encountered a clay pavement and that portion of the pavement lying beneath the altar has been painted red. Thus the original building seems to have been constructed of lava rock laid up in walls several feet thick and filled in the center with soil. This structure was covered completely with volcanic material which later was leveled off into a broad platform on top and narrow irregular terraces on the side. These terraces are sustained by walls of lava rock and smoothed boulders, plainly of a later period of construction than that of the original pyramid. Their faces are made by selecting chunks of lava with fairly flat surfaces and placing these surfaces on the outside, giving a smoother face to the wall than found in the original. The higher terrace walls are more carelessly constructed and together with the mound on the top of the highest platform seem to be the latest structures of the temple. Thus there are at least three periods of building manifest in these structures, all of which antedate the eruption of Xichtli that produced the Pedregal lava.

The walls of this great cone are constructed of chunks and shells of lava of a flow occurring before the volcanic

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showers which produced the materials that envelop it. The interior for several feet from the surface is a mass of lava rock while the surface walls are made of large chunks of hard bluish lava of the forms known as andasite and basalt. Many of them are a meter or more in length with the larger ends roughly fitted together to form the surface, while the smaller ends extend inwards at right angles to the surface and are bedded in small stone. No hewn stone are encountered in the entire structure. No filling material such as cement, plaster, or even clay was employed. It is crude cyclopean masonry; and yet such large boulders are used at the base and the rock packed so securely in the sloping walls, that they stand today seemingly about as strong as when first constructed.

Not a bit of lava of the Pedregal type is found in the entire structure. The rock from the older lava flows, together with some water-worn boulders, constitute the materials employed. These water-worn boulders must have come from some stream now forcing its channel beneath the Pedregal. No such river bed can be found anywhere in the region.

CUICUILCO AN AMERICAN POMPEII

When we consider that this building must have been constructed before some great eruption in the vicinity sent forth its deluging showers of ashes, mud and pumice, and that this calamity occurred long before the Pedregal flow which geologists estimate occurred from two to seven thousand years ago and that the stone implements are grinding and polishing stones, flaked knives, borers and scrapers, that the pottery even near the surface is crude and archaic, that the entire structure contains no hewn stone and no cement or plaster of any



Cuicuilco. Wall extending beneath the Pedregal lava.

form, we realize that architecture had its beginning in Mexico long before the Christian era, and that the early populations of this land had undoubtedly commenced the mastery of the material universe about them probably quite as soon as the primitive peoples surrounding the Mediterranean. Dr. Gamio has proved with reasonable satisfaction that the great structures of Teotihuacan and the period of the highest culture of its skillful people were developed about the first century of our era, or some 2000 years ago. Cuicuilco is an illustration of one of the first great structures reared by the ancestors of those tribes who later adorned Mexico not only with mighty

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Cuicuilco. Trench on eastern side exposing the base 25 feet below the surface.

pyramids but also with richly decorated temples and palaces. This crude structure, unembellished and unadorned yet massive and solid, stands a mute evidence that the native American developed his masterful architecture here on American soil. As in old Pompeii the

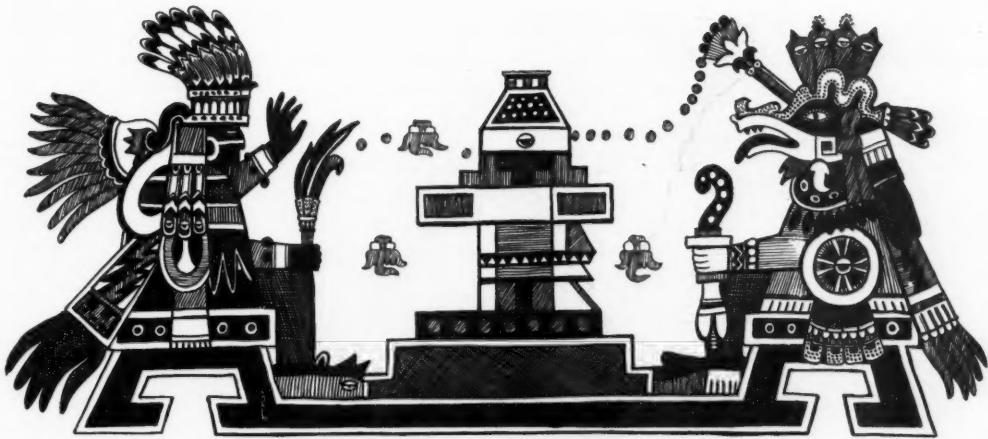
mighty forces of nature covered and sealed the handiwork of man that it might speak to future generations, so here in the Valley of Mexico those same forces have preserved a chapter of human history, more primitive yet no less interesting than the worn pavements and marble peristyles of the ancient city of the Italian coast.

HOARY ANTIQUITY OF CUICUILCO

How long were the people of Cuicuilco in developing the ability to rear this massive pyramid? Through how many centuries had this American branch of the human family struggled before they gained sufficient mastery of material things and sufficient social and political co-operation and organization to produce such results? How many centuries elapsed between the building of Cuicuilco and the ornate pyramid of Quetzalcoatl and those of the Sun and the Moon at Teotihuacan? Human progress under primitive conditions has always been slow, and early American progress was no exception to the natural course of events. This great temple then pushes the horizon of human history in North America back many centuries and opens up a chapter of human progress on this side of the Atlantic of which men have dreamed but which has never been recorded in authentic annals.

*State University,
Tucson, Arizona.*





TEZCATLIPOCA

Drawn by Anders J. Haugseth

AZTEC GODS

By HARTLEY BURR ALEXANDER

I—Tezcatlipoca

Puissant Lord!
Invisible, impalpable, inescapable!

Men see thee not, and thou art with them;
Men touch thee not, and thou art with them;
Men know thee not, and thou knowest them.

The dense rocks are as crystal before thee;
The hearts of the quaking mountains are as crystal before thee;
As crystal is my heart,—naught therein is hidden from before thee.

Thy mind doth reflect all secret things, O Tezcatlipoca!
Thou art as a fume-dark mirror of polished obsidian, deep with reflection.
All things remote thy body doth envelope; none withstay thee, who art the
blown breath of the spacious world!

Whistlings and flutings and the rumblings of many drums are thine,
And the Night Winds are thy hounds, that bay thy relentless Ways;
Thou art the Sweeper-up of the Realms of Silence,—they also are of thee.

O Lord very mighty!
On the day that I honor thee I shall ascend a terraced temple;
Bright flowers will adorn my head, dancing maidens will accompany me;
To the music of pulsing flutes I shall sing thee with triumphant voice!



XOCHIQUETZAL

Drawn by Anders J. Haugseth

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O Lord very terrible!

On the day that I honor thee I shall mount upon the Dragon of Stone;
I shall break my singing flute, the flowers of my chaplet I shall scatter to the winds:
On the day that I honor thee my heart I shall cast before thee!

Let it be pellucid as crystal, on that day when thou shalt pierce me!
Let it be as bodiless light, when thou comest with unstaying feet!
Let my heart be altogether pure, when as a fleet wind thou takest me hence!

O Tezcatlipoca!

Lord ever terrible! Lord inescapable!

II—*Xochiquetzal*

Radiant Lily, there where thou standest
Exhaling fragrance,
A Butterfly to thy lips clinging,
Radiant Lily,
I thank thee.

Upon the lips of the Goddess of Flowers
A Butterfly is clinging,—
Upon the lips of the Goddess of Life

An iridescent Butterfly,
Sipping the sweets,
Fanning its wings in her breath.

Is she not beautiful—
The Lily of Life?
Exhaling her fragrance,
With golden pollen fruitful,
Summoning the Winged Spirits?

III—*Quetzalcoatl*

Thou green-feathered Sky-Snake,
Thou crested Serpent,
Thy body is the undulating cloud, the rolling cloud
Boiling white above,
Black-bellied.
Forked lightnings are thy tongues,
Thine eyes flash forked lightnings;
Thy great drums boom
From mountain to mountain, thundering,—
Whither thou goest bearded with black rain,
Shedding beneath thee a reek of black rain.

He was an old man when he sailed away to Tlapallan:
Bright was his countenance as the silver-crested cloud;
Like a descending rain was his streaming beard;
His wind-blown robe was as the blue rain hiding the hill-tops.
Upon the azure lake he was wafted,
Serpent-treading,—
Wafted beyond the horizons of day and night,
Wafted unto Tlapallan,
Quetzalcoatl departing.

Lo, where his hand is uplifted—
Quetzalcoatl of the East, Quetzalcoatl of the West!



QUETZALCOATL

Drawn by Anaers J. Haugseth

Lo, where he hurleth into the heaven his Fire-Snakes—
Great Serpents, like undulating clouds,
Crested, rain-reeking.
Their bellies blacken the sky;
Their fierce rains flood earth's hill-rimmed vale;
Their drumming is from mountain to mountain;
From horizon to horizon is their thunder.

Wonderful are the green plumes of the quetzal, flowing:
They bend in gracious curves, aslant in the sunlight;
They glow like fields of bladed maize, aslant in the sunlight;
All precious jewels shine within them—
Green fire-opals and blue turquoise,
The colors of all flowers,
The rich tassellings of bearded corn . . .
How beautiful are the dewdrops from the Sky-Serpent!
How precious are thy gifts, O Quetzalcoatl!

He was an old man when he sailed afar to Tlapallan:
Venerable was his streaming beard.
Shall he not come again unto his children?
Shall he not once more be wafted upon the azure lake,

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Serpent-treading,
In vaporous robes resplendent?
Shall he not strike forth with staves of sunbeam,
Making earth fruitful,
Making beautiful the feathered fields—
With corn of all colors,
With flowers of all colors?

My offering is corn of seven hues;
My offering is blue smoke of tobacco;
My offering is a precious plume of the green-feathered quetzal;
A rich jewel is my offering, green, with fire in its heart!
Answer me from the two horizons,
O Quetzalcoatl!
From the rims of night and day return unto me,
O Quetzalcoatl, Lord very grateful!

IV—*Tonatiuh*

There is a valorous cry when he mounts with the Morning—
Tonatiuh! Tonatiuh!
Golden plumes shining, emerald plumes shining,
Bannerets of scarlet, and tawny skins of lions,—
There is a valorous cry like the shouting of many armies
When the souls of the Battle-Slain mount with their Chieftain Sun!

At the Place of the Zenith they lay down their arms—
Tonatiuh! Tonatiuh!
At the Place of the Zenith the Warriors are defeated;
From the Place of the Zenith the Sun descends mid wailing.

There is wailing and woe when he descends to the House of Evening—
Alas, for Tonatiuh!
They drag him down—their hair is disheveled with mourning,
Their fingers are many and sharp,—they, the Dark Mothers,
Whose breasts are heavy for the children they died in bearing:
Wailing they drag him down, the Vengeful Mothers—
Alas, for Tonatiuh!
Alas, for Tonatiuh!

V—*Xiuhteculli*

Lord Fire!
Thou who art the Central Burning,
Who art armed with a spear-thrower,
Who art armed with many spears,—
The Gaping Jaws of Earth are beneath thee,
Whereof the teeth are obsidian blades,
Whereof the maw is Mictlan,
Whereof the belly is the House of Bones . . .



XIUHTECUTLI

Drawn by Anders J. Haugseth

Lord Fire!
 Thou dost give a little light,
 Thou dost give a little warmth,
 With thy spears thou dost give a little defense
 Against the day and the hour when I must descend . . .

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TONATIUH

Drawn by Anders J. Haugseth

I will make thee an offering of blood,
I will make thee an offering of a man's heart,—
My heart I will give thee,
That thou mayest burn a little longer,
That the Jaws close not so soon upon me . . .
Lord Fire! Lord Fire!

NOTE.—The illustrations which accompany this series of interpretations of Aztec deities were drawn by Anders J. Haugseth, of the University of Nebraska, in the style of the Aztec codices. They are not copies, but, like the verse, are studies aiming to reproduce the central spirit of the deities represented. Thus Tezcatlipoca, in dual form, is shown fanning the seeds of life over the world, the temple of the god standing between the idol and the spirit of the deity. Xochiquetzal is represented wholly stylized, with the butterfly symbol of fertility clinging to her lips. Quetzalcoatl is shown with the characteristic mask of this deity, while his feet tread the Plumed Serpent, symbol of the raincloud and of the sky-born fertility of the earth. In the drawing for Tonatiuh a Sun, conventionalized in the Aztec style, rises between the images of the battle-slain warrior and the women dead in childbirth, to whom, respectively, the morning and afternoon sun is devoted. Finally, the fire-god, Xiuhtecuhtli, is shown with spear-thrower and fire-serpent, central above the Gaping Jaws of Earth, within the maw of which is Mictlan, abode of the dead, indicated by the skull and bones.

State University, Lincoln, Nebraska.

WALTER UFER AND SOME OF HIS MEDAL PICTURES

By ROSE V. S. BERRY

IT IS very interesting to see the way Success comes when once it selects its favorite; possessing little more than the substance of the Will-o-the-Wisp, and quite as elusive, it suddenly becomes stationary, persistent, and almost faithful. At any rate that is the way Success is treating Walter Ufer, who is the President of the Taos Society, which each year attracts more and more of the eastern attention and approval. The group of painters who have associated themselves together in Taos, New Mexico, are making a unique contribution to the art of today in the United States. With a required standard, recognized artistic talent, keen appreciation of their chosen profession, and a sincere belief in their attitude toward the West and the American Indian, these men are embodying past tradition,—romance, story, and history, in their production. While their art is *art* of a pure character if closely analyzed, there lies just below the surface for the initiated an irresistible amount of symbolism along with a retrospective and prophetic interpretation which rather sets them apart as an Art Colony of special significance. From all appearances, they may function in two ways in the future of American cultural interests: by having preserved some of the finest points of the Pueblo Indian, and having enriched painting by their isolation and devotion to the region.

Walter Ufer has been an exhibitor at the winter exhibitions for the last eight years, and each year he has captured medals, beside other honors and awards. Ufer has several ways of arousing the interest of the professional and the lay

groups. He is attractive to the former by his strength; his personality in the presentation of his subjects; his versatility,—the range and variety in his painting being evidence of his resourcefulness; his enthusiasm and vitality, along with the spirit of impressive earnestness calling to the observer from every brush stroke. To the lay group he seems the embodiment of a storied interest in the region and the people which he paints. In every canvas, Ufer gives forth something of the West, sometimes it is so overwhelming that one feels the vastness of the open, free expanse; the power of the unspoken, indescribable presence which is felt but not seen, as it awes and hushes the human consciousness into reverence.

It is not possible to deal with each of the "medal" pictures of Ufer, but these presented here are some of the best.

As the honors have come to Ufer they have carried with them in their titles the phases of excellence which must prevail in the work of the rare artist. His first prize was also the first prize which a western man had won in the National Academy of Design. It was the Clark Prize, awarded for the best composition. The painting by a fitting coincident was called: "Going East." In this picture Ufer has depicted a traveling group led by his Indian model, Jim, who has held prominence in so many of the Ufer canvases. Like much of Ufer's work this canvas has color and very definite charm for all who observe closely. The woman in the foreground wears a blue shawl and a light brown dress. The woman carrying the vase,—or "oja"



GOING EAST. By Walter Ufer.
Awarded the Thomas B. Clarke Prize.

as it is called, has a black silken shawl and a pink dress, both women have the high, wrinkled, loose topped, soft soled, white boots of the Taos women. The men have tied about the lower body the usually worn white shawl of the men of this tribe. Ufer has made some interesting still life of the "oja" and the wood. There is a fine bit of value thrown into the wood, that which catches the sunshine, that which is in the shadow, and the uneven ends are well treated. The windy sky with

clouds and a blue ether have made the opportunity for Ufer to give them a place of interest in the composition. The coloring of the entire landscape is of late summer, nothing startling but lending itself to the whole. The grouping is so natural that one would take for granted that this might be the easy way they would have massed themselves for the start. But the prize was given to this picture for the *composition*, that means that there has been some exceedingly clever posing by the painter



THE SOLEMN PLEDGE—TAOS INDIANS. By Walter Ufer.
Martin B. Cohn Prize, Art Institute of Chicago, 1916.

and that the naturalness of the whole is his foreseeing eye, his knowledge of advantageous placement, and his painter's skill, discernment, and reliable judgment. "Going East" was only ex-

hibited twice; it is privately owned in Chicago.

"The Solemn Pledge—Taos Indians," another of Ufer's prize pictures, hangs in the Art Institute of Chicago. In the



IN THE LAND OF MAÑANA. By Walter Ufer.
First Frank G. Logan Medal and \$500, Art Institute of Chicago, 1917.

picture there is a beautifully clouded sky, with the Taos mountains in the background and the fields in the middle distance. The Indians, which the painter means to be all absorbing, stand in earnest discussion. It is an Indian custom, that in the case of trouble they shall consult an older man in the tribe who renders the decision and then swears them to a new vow of friendship; erecting a pile of stones as an altar commemorating the "solemn pledge."

Ufer has taken these men after the arbitrator has spoken, and one of the men hesitates to accept the decision. The small boy is urging his relative to yield even though it be a difficult thing to do. In this instance, as he frequently does, Ufer has made of the faces real character studies, and they will repay the closest scrutiny. The painting is very white, and cold because of it. The Indian in the foreground has a khaki shirt, with his white shawl tied around



LUZANNA AND HER SISTERS. By Walter Ufer.
Purchased May 1921 by Friends of Art, Baltimore.

his hips; the others are all white and Ufer has played with the indentations of the folds carrying them to varying shades of blue in the shadow.

"In the Land of Mañana," won the first Logan prize at the Chicago Art Institute. This picture was purchased from the exhibition by the Union League Club of Chicago. Ufer has presented

here in several ways an excellent statement of various characteristics of both the land and the people of the region. The sky of blue-green is flecked by greenish clouds. The mountains glow with the rich yellow of the cottonwood trees, keeping their interest always as great ominous masses which lure and repel at the same time. At their base



Courtesy of John E. D. Trask, Inc.

HUNGER. By Walter Ufer.

Awarded the Altman Prize, National Academy of Design, 1921.

nestles the village of Taos, the safe human habitation. The diminutive figures journeying toward it add interest. All of this is quite aside from the group in the foreground. Almost as the darting lizard grows sluggish in the sun-heated surface of a rock, these three men of the distant village tarry here, lazily

loitering, utterly aimless, the passing of time meaning nothing to them; in the glare of the sun they bask, sleep, smoke and gossip. Ufer has made of them a triangular pattern, the standing Indian carrying it to the apex, while the black and white Navajo shawl on one side and the blue and gray blanket,



Courtesy of John E. D. Trask, Inc.

SLEEP. By Walter Ufer.

Awarded the Temple Gold Medal for the best picture in the 118th Annual Exhibition of The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 1923.

the Navajo water jug, and the black "oja" on the other side hold the extremes of the angle to the earth. One unusual point that attracts one is the profile of the standing Indian which Ufer has caught in the shadow and made fast. It is one more fascination for the wall, which Ufer renders with such skill.

"Luzanna and Her Sisters," was the painting with which Ufer carried away an International Exhibition Prize from the Carnegie Institute. It has been purchased for the Fine Arts Museum at Baltimore. This canvas was one which attracted painters most. The difficulties presented were those which appealed quickly to the painter. It

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embraces the interior, still-life, figures, drapery, some delightfully reflected color spots, a realistic irregularity in the poorly constructed window, along with a most varying treatment of the scene outside the window distorted and awry according to the imperfections in the cheap glass.

"Hunger" was awarded the Altman Prize, National Academy of Design. To those unacquainted with the Spanish-Mexican-Indian Missions of the Southwest the crucifix is an abhorrently, sacrilegious shock. The Christ presented in such an array, is to emphasize an impotence which is not one of the characteristic attributes of the Savior of the orthodox believer. But this is the crucifix common among the Penitente of the region; that group forbidden of the church, which carries on its worship in remote places at unannounced hours. They are the most zealous worshipers and believers; they are emotional mystics, who, during Holy Week, by prolonged fasting and prayer, arouse themselves to the point of super-human endurance. They magnify their sins into proportions requiring self-abnegation, prayerful repentance, and physical suffering. They emerge from their secret devotions in a single-file procession, with backs bared to receive cruel, flesh-tearing blows, and in extreme instances they re-enact the crucifixion. In striking contrast with the weak, non-resistant figure of the crucifix, is the stiff, stony, unyielding, unlovable Madonna. She destroys the symmetry of the design. Is it by accident that Ufer has placed her there? She intervenes between the protestant and his approach to his Christ,—so he puts her aside and claims the privilege of the direct appeal. This painting came from Ufer at the close of the war. The civilized world had been

doing exactly what the supplicating Indian family are doing; friend and foe had prostrated themselves in prayer before a Christ whom by their own acts they had rendered impotent. The power to save themselves rested within themselves; *action* not *asking* was the remedial procedure. Work,—incessant effort, applied with the "Golden Rule," would have set things right then, and would now. This is what the observer sees, and what he is almost compelled to think as he contemplates this picture. And he knows full well that the church mouse—which Ufer has introduced with a bit of ironic humour—will wisely "seek" that it may find. The painter sees the extraordinary values, the possibility of a perfectly repeated triangular design wilfully destroyed; perhaps more than all else he is held in fascination by the treatment of the wall. The gray background is given prominence and is almost made into a living thing so fascinating is its treatment. Ufer is fast becoming a superb master in the painting of a wall; this rough, uneven, sandy surface, pricked and pierced by nails, many of which remain, has been made into a painted area with such charm that it could truthfully be said to rival a pearl.

"Sleep" has just been awarded the Temple Gold Medal for the best painting in the Exhibition, regardless of subject, at the present Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The picture is not beautiful at first glance, but it is made compelling by simple subservient qualities. With many possibilities for it, brilliancy has been thoughtfully omitted. The effect is restful. Lively reds are softened and dulled, browns remain low-keyed, the blues are dark, while white,—varying into allied tints of gray, green, and pink—appear frequently in the walls,

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floor-covering, the white bowl, the child's shawl, and the knee-high boots common to all Taos Indians.

The passerby will slowly find the spot of exquisite color which the artist will have seen at once,—the surface surrounding the head of the sleeping child. Its white shawl with pink and green figures, the grandmother's pink skirt, and the differing white of the boot are as lovely in color as selected flowers could be. The outstanding bit of selective skill is shown in the relative shades of the corn and everything else in the painting which is not black. The striped shawl of the mother is a combination of variegated smaller stripes arranged with the wide, dark one of purplish blue, but they all merge themselves into the colors of the corn which she holds.

From the upper right hand corner to the lower left corner passes the line defining the design; the two women's heads and the two bowls making one line. The protruding boot and the corn which the sleeping woman holds and the hand of the younger woman build a second line,—less pronounced, but adding emphasis. This is not accidental, nor is the continuation of shawl and rug stripes, and the enlarged white field surrounding the child. These are some of the Ufer fine points.

So much of the picture is purely artistic in interest. There is a second appeal. The rug background may be a

Chief's. Before the younger woman's face the inner light design is conventionalized birds,—having to do with prayer. The surrounding darker pattern is clouds,—the region's blessing, since they bring rain, the three bars immediately to the left indicating unmistakably the rain, while the lower continuous, horizontal bars signify the path of life for the Chief. The zig-zagged pattern near the second face can be either birds for prayer, or stars for hope and faith.

To the extreme left the bow and arrows are sheathed,—there is no man belonging to these women assembled according to the scriptural description of corn: "First the blade, then the ear, and the full corn in the ear," surrounded by every evidence of solicitude and prayer for their race. The large decorated bowl is a ceremonial vessel, the circular designs are birds. The heavy design on the floor, back of the child, is a flight of birds,—prayer again!

Deeper, perhaps, than the appeal of the painted canvas lies the appeal of the women. Deeper than the appeal of the women and their mystic symbolism is the revelation of the nobility in the attitude of Ufer toward his work and his chosen subject, which amounts to a reverence compelling respect and admiration and a sympathetic appreciation from artist and layman.

Berkeley, California.



IN MEMORIAM

ALICE C. FLETCHER

The most reverend Power—and the most wor-Place, Fame, Beauty, only others. None of them desert island with no one Even Truth is important than Deviousness—and attribute of the Al-

We worship it in least Godlike; oftener in more impressed by its by its quiet progress. The and far more useful—as the clouds—but the storm

In the glowing crawl of shattering earthquakes, rado where it still carves mic intaglio of the Grand ening curtain of Niagára; ing glaciers of Illimani; in greatest minds of my day have had that beautiful awe and wonder and reverence which are worship. Nor would I for a moment deny frank admiration for the torso of Atlas on a prize-fighter, and the deletion of a cliff by dynamite.

But I have come to rather deeper awe and wonder of the Quiet forces, that do more without explosion—for the snowflake and the sunbeam that have wrought our California Alps; the lenient raindrops that have witched away two vertical miles of the Southwest, and carried it grain by patient grain 800 miles to lay down new continents under the Pacific; the little plant-cell that in our Quirigua jungle slowly pile-drives upward the vast columns of ceiba, mahogany and Santa Maria resistless to the sky.

Today, two pictures stand out together in my thought: In 1876, an eager boy of 17, I had six weeks at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia; and every day, for hours, I stood fascinated in the center of a great hall and watched the vast Corliss engine with 2500 horsepower, working as sure, as still, as unhurried, as unfaltering as Fate—no jar, no tremor, no fuss, no effort—just Power.

And the other picture is—Alice Fletcher!

She wasn't a machine at all—nor a great, masterful, dominating presence, nor a contagious crusader, nor a spellbinder, nor an Amazon, nor a Queen—just a plain, gentle, modest little woman of unpretentious speech and the homely simplicity of greatness. But she was Power—as effortless, as unfuming, as sure, as the titan Corliss—and as little aware of it!

It has been my fortune to know and deal with some of the most effective minds of my day—minds that have changed the map of America and the world, minds that have left their imprint



thing in the world is shipped. We value Money, because they command would weigh much on a to be swayed by them. only because it is stronger Power is the foremost mighty.

every shape—oftenest its its waste than its Use; spectacular display than sea is just as strong abed—when it rises to lash calls out our wonder.

of lava flows, in the clutch beside the growling Colo-deeper its mile-deep cos-Cañon; behind the deaf-under the imminent, inch-touch with some of the—in all these Presences I

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forever on Science and Art and Education and Thought. Some had greater Genius than she—but Genius is not always Power and Knowledge always is! And she *Knew*! There are painters who paint as by Divine Right and the Royal Road, and daze the innocent; but they do not last so long as the Keiths and Morans who learn geology before they create landscapes, and those who master anatomy ere they venture sculpture. Alice Fletcher knew to the roots whatsoever she attempted to write or talk about.

This Power-by-Knowing was mated with an extraordinarily disentangled, serene, impartial vision, absolutely unclouded and untinged by self-concern. Her knowledge adjusted her judgment, her judgment adjudicated her knowledge. She was one of the fairest-minded, straightest-minded, most magnanimous persons I ever knew, and one of the best-poised. Her mind simply would not be stampeded nor beclouded. Sometimes when we were all in a quandary, like the Peterkin Children whose horse wouldn't go, it was she who would mildly suggest, as "the Lady from Philadelphia" did: "suppose we untie him from the hitching-post, first!"

It was in no fair-weather days that I came to know her, but in the internecine grips when we were trying to get the venerable Archaeological Institute of America to set its feet solid on American ground, even while it kept its nose in the Classic clouds. And I am sure the ruggeddest of us felt a little humble as we fought it out beside her—she serene among her friends and foes. She never even *looked* hostile, nor doubled her fist, not did her voice ever get away from her by one half tone. A casual visitor to the hall would hardly have known she was there. Some of her opponents never were quite aware what quiet, deep river had just drifted along and left them stranded far from their selfish hopes. She didn't Fight—any more than the snowflake and the sunbeam fight. Like them, she Just Kept On—and an Alp was carved.

For there was something else to her Power besides knowledge and judgment and reason—she had gentleness and Faith and Love, even beyond the quota of woman; a detachment from self and self-interest which made generous tolerance natural, fear or deviousness impossible.

In our School of American Archaeology, and later School of American Research, the Executive Committee had many problems. Every man of us, I am sure in saying, felt that the tallest spirit in all that stout company was the unruffled, gentle-eyed, far-seeing little woman who limped from tent to council-fire at the Rito, or from room to adobe room of the old Palacio, and never worried, never hurried, nor ever failed in wisdom or in cheer.

We shall not look upon her like again. We shall know other splendid women; but there will never be another Alice Fletcher—dear, noble, beloved, revered Alice Fletcher! The environment that produced her is no more—the mold is broken. And with her is gone a Power whose very memory shall be a living force forever.

CHARLES F. LUMMIS.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Professor Holmes Wins the De Loubat Prize

Although the Art Editor of ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY is probably best known to readers of this journal as an artist and as Director of the National Gallery, we are reminded of his enviable place in the field of American Archaeology by the recent award to him by Columbia University of New York, of the De Loubat Prize for the most important work in the field of American Archaeology for the quinquennial period ending with 1923. This work is the first volume of the "Handbook of Aboriginal American Archaeology" published by the Bureau of American Archaeology of the Smithsonian Institution. A previous De Loubat award of \$1,000 was accorded to him for his work on the "Archaeology of the Tidewater Province," which embraced as its most important feature, an elaborate study of the extensive work done by the Indians within the area now occupied by the City of Washington. A score of generations ago groups of the noble red men might have been seen at work on this site, as is graphically shown in one of the lay figure groups of the National Museum, designed by Professor Holmes.

Archaeological Excavations in Mexico

The visit of the Educational and Archaeological Commission to Mexico in September, directs attention to the important projects that are being undertaken by the Mexican Government and other agencies. They may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) In the Valley of Mexico—excavation of the site of the temple of Quetzalcoatl in San Juan de Teotihuacan; the archaic site of Cuicuilco under the Pedregal of San Angel, described by Professor Cummings (pp. 51 f.); the three distinct superimposed cultures, Archaic, Toltec and Aztec, at Atzapotzalco, northwest of Mexico City. (2) In Oaxaca, restoration of the great ruins at Monte Alban. (3) In the Federal District, the Archaic pyramid near Tlumpam being brought to light by Dr. Cummings. (4) In Vera Cruz—the restoration of Tajin, a temple of Totonacan culture. (5) In Chihuahua, Exploration of Casas Grandes, undertaken by the School of American Research and the Archaeological Society of Washington, described by Dr. Hewett (pp. 35 f.); and (6) In Yucatan, the exploration of ancient cities by Dr. Morley of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. All these sites will be visited by members of the Commission and carefully studied under the guidance of specialists.

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BOOK CRITIQUES

Man's Prehistoric Past. By Harris Hawthorne Wilder. The Macmillan Company, 1923. \$5.00.

At length a volume has appeared that can be satisfactorily used in college classes studying Prehistoric Archaeology, both European and American, while at the same time it affords an admirable introduction to the subject for the general reader. Macalister's "Textbook of European Archaeology," Osborn's "Men of the Old Stone Age" and Holmes' "Handbook of Aboriginal American Archaeology" are excellent for reference, but are too bulky for regular class-room use, and there is as yet no adequate text-book on the subject. Wilder's "Man's Prehistoric Past" will, in the meantime, meet a long felt need for a manual introducing the student to the fascinating field of Prehistoric Archaeology.

The titles of the six chapters that comprise the 463 pages give some idea of its comprehensive scope: I. The Chronology of Prehistory; II. Material and Methods; III. European Prehistory; IV. Prehistory of Africa, Asia, and the Oceanic Islands; V. Prehistory of the two Americas; VI. Known types of Prehistoric Man. Space permits us only to call attention to the hundred pages devoted to America, which discuss stone implements, basketry, weaving and pottery; architecture, sculpture, painting, petroglyphs and other forms of writing; and the possible connection between the Eastern and Western worlds.

MITCHELL CARROLL.

The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record. By L. Leland Locke. American Museum of Natural History, N. Y., 1923.

An elucidation of the "mystery" of the quipu has long been desired. Specimens of the quipu are rare, and rarer still in the literature of anthropology is anything to be found that gives even part way explanation of their systematic use. It is fortunate that a great museum was able to collect numerous examples of the quipu and that a man of mathematical tendency and abiding patience could be found to study them. The quipu is interesting as fulfilling one of the demands of science, namely, record of facts, and among the peoples advancing to higher civilization the Peruvians so far as known were unique in using the device. Mr. Locke gives a series of Old World usages, a curious example of record consisting of five bundles of reeds representing men, women and children, in a census made by Indians of the Comanche tribe a number of years ago and now in the United States National Museum.

WALTER HOUGH.

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